

A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY OF AN ADULT VOCATIONAL CLASS:
CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES AND MEDIATING EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to investigate linguistic interaction in a vocational classroom based in a Further Education college in the UK. The course was designed for adults wishing to become qualified primary teaching assistants.

The study was ethnographically grounded and, in keeping with a Linguistic Ethnography approach, it also incorporated close linguistic and narrative-in-interaction analysis. This enabled me to show how educational discourses shape local interactions and how, in particular types of classroom interaction, participants appropriate wider discourses creatively for their own goals.

Through detailed analysis of whole class discursive interactions, I show how the tutor appropriated and mediated the curriculum content and discourses for and with her class. She did this by constantly shifting identities and relationships along clines of power, social solidarity and social distance, by drawing on funds of knowledge from her own lived experience and those of her class, and by creating spaces to talk about the different domains of social life: further education, primary school and local life worlds. In their turn, the learners drew on their previous experiences of education, their work experience and their own local life worlds, to make sense of the content with the tutor and their classmates.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, who encouraged me to be curious and brave.

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I would like to thank the participants who took part in my doctoral research project: Tess, the tutor, for being so enthusiastic about being part of the research that the class became enthusiastic too; the eight key class participants, for being so open with me in the interviews and the other class participants, for accepting me as part of the class.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents.....	v
Figures and Tables	x
Transcription Conventions	xi
CHAPTER 1: Introduction and rationale for the study	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 My background and interests.....	1
1.3 Rationale for the study	2
1.4 Aims of the study	5
1.5 Research questions	6
1.6 Outline of thesis	7
CHAPTER 2: A vocational education course in a further education context	
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Further Education (1997- 2009): policy context and policy discourses.....	9
2.2.1 Political changes and a changing FE policy context.....	10
2.3 The reshaping of the teaching and learning culture of Further Education: new management discourses and practices	17
2.4 Enduring discourses and teaching / learning practice among tutors in Further Education and Vocational Education	21
2.5 A vocational course in an FE context: the CACHE Level 2 Certificate for Teaching Assistants	27
2.5.1 Nature and content of the course.....	28
2.5.2 The discourses associated with the role of Teaching Assistants in Primary Education.....	32
CHAPTER 3: Linguistic Ethnography	
3.1 Introduction	35
3.2 Different traditions with different histories	36

3.2.1	Linguistic Anthropology	36
3.2.2	Linguistic Ethnography in the UK and Europe.....	37
3.3	The role of Ethnography	40
3.3.1	Common assumptions	40
3.3.2	How LE approaches differ	42
3.4	Some challenges to Linguistic Ethnography	45
3.5	Why I chose to use LE for my study and what it might contribute to education research about language	47

CHAPTER 4: Classroom Interaction, Identities, Relationships and Learning

4.1	Introduction	52
4.2	Language as a social semiotic	53
4.3	Constructionist approaches to language, identity, relationships and involvement in interaction: orienting theories for my studies	56
4.3.1	Key concepts from the work of Erving Goffman.....	57
4.3.2	Conversation Analysis and identity: Membership Categorization	58
4.3.3	Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and identity: Gumperz.....	60
4.4	Early studies in involvement-in-interaction strategies.....	61
4.4.1	Interactive synchrony	61
4.4.2	Participation in sense-making through indirectness and silence.....	62
4.4.3	Imagery, detail and creative language play.....	62
4.5	Post-structuralist / post-modern understandings of language and its relation to identity and relationships	64
4.5.1	Research in multilingual settings: combining social constructionist frameworks with post-structuralist / post-modern orientations	65
4.5.2	Post-structuralist / post-modern understandings of language and identity, as revealed through research in multi-lingual settings.....	66
4.5.3	Bakhtinian perspectives	72
4.6	Narrative and identity	75
4.6.1	Narrative as talk-in-interaction: perspectives from discursive Psychology	77

4.6.2	Stance, alignment and positioning in interviews.....	80
4.6.3	The development of a theory of small stories	81
4.6.4	Narrative as a window on the representation of identities	84
4.6.5	Narrative-in-interaction.....	86
4.6.6	Constructed dialogue.....	89
4.7	Mediation: talk, participation and learning.....	90
4.7.1	Asymmetric relations in the adult vocational classroom	90
4.7.2	Dialogic teaching and learning.....	93
4.8	Concluding remarks	95
CHAPTER 5: Research methods		
5.1	Introduction	97
5.2	Adopting an appropriate research design	97
5.2.1	Epistemological position of the researcher	97
5.2.2	Rationale for choosing a case study design.....	99
5.3	Building a research strategy	103
5.3.1	Gaining access.....	103
5.3.2	Selection of key participants	105
5.3.3	Building a relationship with the participants	107
5.4	Research ethics.....	110
5.4.1	Institutional guidelines	110
5.4.2	Reflexivity: Debates about the researcher / researched relationship	112
5.5	Data collection strategies and the phases of the research	117
5.5.1	Phase 1: preliminary studies	118
5.5.2	Phase 2: the main data collection	119
5.6	Preparation of data for analysis	125
5.6.1	Transcription of audio and video recorded data.....	125
5.6.2	Selection of classroom data and interview data for analysis.....	127
5.7	Data analysis	128
5.7.1	First pass: Data analysis in conjunction with field notes	129
5.7.2	Second pass: Identifying generic resources and types of activities	131

5.7.3	Third pass: Contextualization cues and the organization of the talk	132
5.7.4	Fourth pass: Employing a Hallidayan framework	133
5.7.5	Fifth pass: Turning to narrative analysis	133
5.7.6	Sixth pass: Fine grained linguistic analysis of stretches of teacher-led talk	136
5.7.7	Final pass: extending the analysis to other data sets	137

CHAPTER 6: Constructing institutional, professional and life world identities

6.1	Introduction	138
6.2	Assuming different identities along a continuum of power / solidarity	138
6.2.1	Data analysis section 1: 27 th January 2009. Extract 1. From vocational education tutor to fellow education practitioner and back to tutor	148
6.2.2	Data analysis section 2: 17 th March 2009. Long extract 3. From tutor to tutor-counsellor to fellow adult to old-timer to tutor	155
6.2.3	Data analysis section 3: 10 th March 2009. Long extract 11. Narrative-in-interaction between fellow adults.....	187
6.3	Concluding remarks	211

CHAPTER 7: Mediating educational discourses for future teaching assistants

7.1	Introduction	212
7.2	Mediating educational discourses	213
7.2.1	Topics and discourses in six different teaching / learning sessions	214
7.2.2	Mediating discourses across these episodes, drawing on different language and textual resources.....	238
7.3	Concluding remarks	285

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION: The findings viewed through the lens of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism

8.1	Introduction.....	286
8.2	Interanimation of voices through shifting identities: the findings presented in Chapter 6.....	287

8.3	Voices of authority vs. heteroglossia-managing the dynamic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces: the findings presented in Chapter 7.....	301
8.4	Concluding reflections.....	307

CHAPTER 9: Summary and Conclusions

9.1	Introduction	309
9.1.1	Summary of key areas of analysis and findings.....	310
9.2	The nature, scope and significance of the study	317
9.2.1	Linguistic Ethnography: an eclectic approach	318
9.2.2	Narrative-in-interaction analysis as part of classroom discourse analysis.....	318
9.2.3	Drawing on social theory to merge the local with the wider context.....	319
9.3	Constraints and challenges	320
9.3.1	The need to select an analytical focus.....	320
9.3.2	The challenging scope of the study	320
9.3.3	Reflexivity: the researcher / researched relationship	321
9.4	Recommendations for policy and practice	322
9.5	Recommendations for future research	322
9.5.1	Literacy practices research.....	322
9.5.2	Narrative-in-interaction and positioning research.....	323
9.6	Final personal comments	323
	List of References.....	324

List of Figures

Figure 1 Range of worlds evoked and identities constructed	142
Figure 2 Positioning of class participants by Tess	143
Figure 3 Planning Cycle (Business Model).....	221
Figure 4 Planning Cycle (Tess' Adaptation)	221
Figure 5 Searchlight Model for learning to read	223

List of Tables

Table 1 Overarching research questions and data sources	101
Table 2 Timetable for CACHE Certificate for Teaching Assistants 2	120

Transcription Conventions

Originally developed by Gail Jefferson (cited in Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008, pp vi-vii) the transcriptions of my data utilize the following conventions plus an adaptation for pauses:

(.)	A dot enclosed in brackets indicates a very short pause, just discernible
(..)	Two dots enclosed in brackets indicates a slightly longer pause
(...)	Three dots enclosed in brackets indicates a long pause
=	‘Equals’ sign indicates ‘latching’ between utterances.
[Square brackets between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicate the onset of overlapping talk.
(())	A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity.
:	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter.
(inaudible)	Indicates speech that is difficult to make out. Details may also be given.
<u>Underlining</u>	Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis.
CAPITALS	Words in capitals mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.
CP	Class participants

Note that in the interview transcripts in Appendix 3, normal punctuation has been used in order to facilitate the reading experience.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents a linguistic ethnographic study of the learning routines and discourse practices in one vocational education class in a Further Education (FE) college in England. The adult learners in the class were working towards a vocational qualification: a Certificate for Teaching Assistants that was being offered at Level 2 (broadly equivalent to GCSE level). The awarding body for this course was the Council for Awards in Care, Health and Education (CACHE). At the end of the course, they hoped to move on to further study at Level 3 or to seek employment as Teaching Assistants in primary schools. The field work for this study was carried out with the learners and their tutor over the course of one year, from January to December, 2009.

In section 1.2, by way of introduction, I provide a short account of my background and research interests. I then offer a rationale for the study in section 1.3 and, in section 1.4, I explain the aims and nature of the study. Section 1.5 introduces the research questions. Finally, section 1.6 provides an outline of the thesis.

1.2 My background and interests

As a sociolinguist and as a language-in-the-curriculum tutor in post-compulsory education from 1997 to 2011, I wanted to make sense of the work I was doing in adult vocational education. I chose to do this by conducting a discourse analysis of one of the many adult

education classrooms in which I had been involved in providing language and literacy support for adult learners (the one mentioned above). I wanted, in particular, to cast some light on what was happening discursively at the level of classroom interaction in Further Education. I also wanted to unpack the ideas underpinning teaching and learning in Further Education at that time. I wanted to build a deeper understanding of the discursive shifts taking place in policy and legislation relating to FE, and to vocational education in particular, and to ascertain how the vocational tutors were negotiating these discursive shifts within the routine activities and practices of the classroom.

The research was informed by a career spent teaching English as a Foreign Language, teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), supporting students with language within the curriculum at a Further Education College and teaching sociolinguistics at the Open University. Studying for a Ph.D. within the language, discourse and society group of the School of Education at the University of Birmingham further developed my knowledge and understanding of how linguistics and ethnography could be combined to research how language was used as a resource in an adult vocational education classroom in the Further Education College where I worked.

1.3 Rationale for the study

When embarking on this study, I became keenly aware of the need to foster applied linguistic research of an ethnographic and discourse-analytic nature in Further Education (FE) contexts, and specifically in vocational education classrooms.

While there has been a tradition of qualitative and ethnographic research in this sector (e.g. Bates, 1995; Gleeson, 1999; Avis, 1999; Hodkinson, PM, Sparkes and Hodkinson, HD, 1996), we saw this tradition being extended through a number of research projects that were funded under the ESRC's Teaching and Learning Research Programme, in the early part of the twenty first century (e.g. Coffield et al., 2008; James and Biesta, 2007; Salisbury & Jephcote, 2005; Colley et al., 2003; Bathmaker, 2008; Ecclestone, 2002; Hodkinson, 2007).

Language, literacy and discourse have not traditionally been taken into account in research in this sector of education. Studies with a focus on language or on classroom interaction have been few and far between. Examples include research by Roberts and Sarangi (2001) on the ways in which inclusion and exclusion are worked out interactionally in classroom routines in vocational education classes. Research has also been conducted in adult ESOL classes in FE colleges in the UK. Examples of this research were brought together in a special issue of *Linguistics and Education* in 2006 (e.g. Baynham, 2006; Roberts and Baynham, 2006; Simpson, 2006).

Very few studies had used ethnography and linguistics together to put vocational classrooms under close observation. Two that were located within vocational education and that did combine ethnography and linguistics cast their spotlight specifically on literacy practices across the curriculum (Ivanic et al., 2009 and Martin-Jones et al., 2007). These two research projects on "Literacies for learning in Further Education" were also carried out under the auspices of the ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Programme. One was based in Further

Education colleges in England and Scotland (Ivanic et al., 2009) and one was based in a Further Education college in North Wales (Martin-Jones et al., 2007; Martin-Jones, 2011). Both projects compared literacy practices and talk around texts in vocational education classes with out-of-school literacies, including literacies in local workplaces and local life worlds. They drew attention to the situated learning taking place through reading, writing and the use of texts in settings other than the college classrooms.

In this research into the language of vocational classroom interaction, I chose to combine ethnography with close linguistic analysis to provide insights into the fine –grain of meaning-making between tutor and adult learners. Adult vocational education is a highly specific context for teaching and learning: the interactional dynamics between tutor and adult learners differ from those in school-based contexts (Ivanic et al, 2009). Moreover, as I will show in Chapter 2, the content of curricula is markedly different from school contexts. The content of vocational education curricula is also underpinned by changing discourses about the purposes of the acquisition of knowledge and skills, about professional accountability in future workplaces and about legislation relating to those workplaces.

As I will show in the two literature review chapters that follow, and in the chapter on research methodology, a linguistic ethnographic approach lends itself well to the close study of the ways in which tutors and adult learners, in classes such as the one in my study, negotiate a working relationship in the ebb and flow of everyday interactions, taking on different identities as they move across topics and activities. A linguistic ethnographic approach also lends itself well to the investigation of the ways in which tutors deal with curricula that focus

narrowly on vocational ‘skills’ and the ways in which they interpret and explain curricular content for the adult learners in their classes, along with wider discourses about workplace practices and the purposes of vocational education, especially when (like the tutor in this study) they have a particular personal commitment to a learner-centred pedagogy, to reflective practice and to empowerment of adult returners to education, who have had diverse life experiences. In sum, a linguistic ethnographic approach can reveal the complex and agentive ways in which tutors and adult learners navigate vocational curricula, collaborating in sense-making and building working relationships as they engage in different classroom-based activities.

1.4 Aims of the study

As indicated above, the study was designed as a detailed linguistic ethnography of one class, focusing specifically on the discursive interaction between the tutor and class participants in whole class interactions and investigating the ways in which their interactions were shaped by the participants and by the wider context, including the vocational curriculum, policies relating to vocational education and the discourses underpinning these policies.

The study aimed to identify actual lexico-grammatical and generic features that indexed broader categories by exploring in detail whole class interactions between tutor and students as they tackled different topics in the curriculum. My specific objectives were as follows: firstly, to identify the way in which identities and relationships in this adult vocational classroom were being constructed discursively; and secondly, to investigate the ways in

which institutional discourses about vocational education were being communicated, reproduced or adapted at the level of classroom practice. The reason for focusing on whole class interactions was because this has historically been the area in which institutional ideas and practices predominate.

1.5 Research questions

The specific research questions that I am addressing are:

1. What were the salient aspects of the content of the CACHE Level 2 course in this study, in terms of topics and underpinning discourses?)
2. Within the classroom, how did the tutor mediate this content with and for the class participants?
 - 2.1 What funds of knowledge and experience did she draw on?
 - 2.2 What pedagogic practices did she engage in?
3. How did the tutor and the class participants negotiate classroom identities and relationships in this specific further education context?
 - 3.1 What identities did the tutor assume in whole class sessions and how did she position the class participants. How did they respond to this positioning and/or position themselves?
 - 3.2 What communicative practices did she engage in?

1.6 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 presents a brief history of the policy context of Further and Vocational Education and of the legislation relating to primary education, focusing in particular on the discursive shifts that occurred in these policies and the ways in which these new discourses have run counter to the discourses of FE tutors regarding their own professional practice. Chapters 3 and 4 offer critical reviews of the research literature that provides the foundation for this research. Chapter 3 explores the relatively new field of linguistic ethnography. Chapter 4 investigates key concepts relating to classroom interaction and the classroom-based construction of identities and relationships and research related to learning through talk, participation and learning. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the methodology, including the research design, the methods used for collection and analysis of the data and the ethical issues addressed in conducting the study. Chapters 6 and 7 set out the findings of the study. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the identities and relationships emerging in the whole class interactions. Chapter 7 focuses on an analysis of the ways in which institutional discourses surfaced in the tutor-student interactions. Chapter 8 is a discussion of the findings, viewed through the lens of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism. Chapter 9 includes a brief summary of the findings, draws conclusions and makes suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: A VOCATIONAL EDUCATION COURSE IN A FURTHER EDUCATION CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I sketch out the political, discursive and institutional context for my study. Section 2.2 focuses on policy developments related to the Further Education (FE) sector in England, in the decade after a Labour government came into power in 1997. This government ushered in a raft of New Labour policies that shaped the FE context in which I carried out my fieldwork in 2007-9. In this section, I provide a brief account of some competing discourses about the nature and purpose of Further Education that circulated during this period. With reference to particular policy documents (that are pertinent to this study), I contrast discourses about widening participation in education, education for citizenship and lifelong learning with the increasingly dominant discourse about the role of further education in developing skills of the types needed for the UK to compete within a globalised economy.

In Section 2.3, I turn my attention to discursive changes that were taking place within the institutional order of FE, in the same broad period. Here, I consider the “colonisation” (Fairclough 1992, 2003) of the discourse order of FE institutions by managerial discourse, as part of the broader shift towards audit culture (Strathern, 2000). I show how a new preoccupation with accreditation, benchmarks, the measurement of outcomes and accountability contributed to a re-shaping of the teaching and learning culture of FE institutions. Section 2.4 contrasts these new policy discourses and the shifts within the

teaching and learning culture of Further Education with the discourses and practices of many Further Education and Vocational Education tutors. This section considers practitioners' discourses about pedagogy, about the purpose of Further Education and Vocational Education and their representations of learners and of the tutor/learner relationship.

Section 2.5 introduces the particular Vocational Education course that forms the main focus of this study: the CACHE Level 2, Certificate for Teaching Assistants. Here, I begin by providing a sketch of the nature and content of the course. Then, I focus in on the specific discourses embedded within this course, with regard to the role of Teaching Assistants in Primary Education. I consider two sets of discourses: (1.) Discourses about working with the National Curriculum, with particular reference to English, Mathematics and Information and Communication Technology (ICT); (2.) discourses about inclusion, differentiation and special educational needs (SEN). I also note the ways in which vocational education courses, such as this one, orient learners to specific pieces of legislation, particularly those that regulate workplace practices.

2.2 Further Education (1997-2009): policy context and policy discourses

Policies have a socio-historic trajectory. They are responses to previous policies as well as being projections for changes seen as being important for the future. This may result in conflicts arising between competing discourses that have been circulating regionally, nationally and in the wider context of Europe and beyond. The discourses about the role and purpose of Further Education mentioned above are an example of this. Further Education has

been designated as the main site for developing widening participation, education for citizenship and lifelong learning on the one hand and, at the same time, as the site for developing skills of the types needed for the UK to compete within a globalised economy on the other. Three policy documents that I saw as being important in shaping FE and my classroom context at the time of the study were *Learning Works* (1997), *The Learning Age* (1998) and *The Leitch Review of Skills* (2005; 2006)

2.2.1 Political changes and a changing FE policy context

2.2.1.1 Learning works (1997)

A Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) review was commissioned in 1994. The committee, led by Helena Kennedy, produced a report called *Learning Works*, which was presented to the Council in 1997. It concerned widening participation and focused on education and training after the age of 16. This report complemented an earlier Government White Paper on education reform, 3-16, called 'Excellence in Schools'.

In this report, Helena Kennedy and colleagues argued that Further Education should play a key role in widening participation. This was because it was mainly Further Education that had traditionally afforded people across the age range the opportunity to gain a second chance at success or career change in order to fulfil potential. It was argued that Further Education had potential 'as a vital engine not only of economic renewal but of social cohesion' (Kennedy, 1997:2). It was also argued that at the heart of most FE colleges there was an 'underpinning belief that education was more than the acquisition of knowledge and skill' (Kennedy, 1997:4) and that education could be a route to active citizenship and a weapon against

poverty. Kennedy and colleagues stressed that education is not just about academic achievement and that ‘learning is also about problem solving, learning to learn, and acquiring the capabilities for intelligent choice in exercising personal responsibility’ (ibid).

However, there were counter forces at play which potentially militated against each other. The authors of the report warned that changes taking place in the FE sector at the time might work against the development of educational provision in the FE sector around such principles. Growth in provision had led to FE colleges being run as businesses, as funding was related to successful outcomes. This in turn had led to the recruitment of a narrower cohort of students who would provide the outcomes at the expense of the wider participation of more risky groups who might struggle to fulfil target expectations, and therefore threaten funding, therefore profitability and growth. The drive to expand and offer competition had meant a focus on marketing and targeting funding. The dilemma for educators was to balance being true to the ethos of social cohesion while at the same time ‘exploiting business as a fruitful model of effectiveness’ (Ibid).

The Kennedy Report was not the first to put forward ideas about widening participation. For example, the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act led to the creation of new universities based on former Polytechnics (hence pre-1992 and post-1992 Universities) “abolishing the binary ‘divide’” and the setting up of Higher Education Funding Councils for the UK nations <http://www.legislation.gov.uk> (accessed 16/08/2013). Also, in 1997, The Dearing Report on Higher Education in the Learning Society was published. Both *The Dearing Report* and

Learning Works were to play key parts in the notion of *The Learning Age*. A plan for this notion of lifelong learning was laid out in a government Green paper, as discussed in 2.2.1.2

2.2.1.2 *The Learning Age (1998)*

The Learning Age (1998) was a government Green Paper setting out an agenda for learning for the 21st century, based on the innovative concept of Lifelong Learning. Coinciding with the publication of *Further Education for the New Millennium* (DfEE, 1998), this Green Paper emphasised the centrality of Further and Higher education to the government's vision of learning for the future of England and Wales. The rationale for putting learning at the heart of the government's plans was because "Learning is the key to prosperity. Investment in human capital will be the foundation of success in the knowledge-based global economy of the twenty-first century" (David Blunkett, DfEE, 1998:1).

In *The Learning Age*, David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education at the time, explained how enabling people to continue learning throughout life would build human capital by encouraging the acquisition of knowledge and skills while emphasising creativity and imagination. However, after 1998, this balance changed and FE policy took a more utilitarian direction. This green paper proposed a major expansion of both Further and Higher Education, measures to widen participation in learning across society, proposals to raise standards, learning in the workplace and shared responsibilities and the importance of working in partnerships.

Following the publication of the Green Paper, many of the foundations for building an inclusive learning society were put in place, including the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) and National Training Organisations (NTOs) in the Further Education Sector, alongside career services, community and voluntary organisations and vocational initiatives within colleges and schools. Substantial resources were made available in 1999.

The National Organisation for Adult Learning (NIACE), a professional body for England Wales, welcomed the Green Paper, particularly David Blunkett's emphasis on the wider cultural benefits of a learning society alongside the economic advantages it would bring. This emphasis is evident in the following statement in the Green Paper: "as well as securing our economic future, learning has a wider contribution. It helps make ours a civilised society, [...] and promotes active citizenship" (DfEE, 1998:3). The Trade Union Congress (TUC) also recognised the value of learning for both individuals and society to "reshape communities and society, improve job security and career progression and achieve fulfilment" (DfEE, 1998: 3). In addition, the Further Education Funding Council supported the idea of an inclusive learning society while emphasizing that 'a culture of lifelong learning must be firmly established in order to bring about the fundamental shift in the nation's attitudes to education and training that the Learning Society required' (DfEE,1997:3). Lastly, National Training Organisations (NTO) strongly supported the importance of developing a learning culture 'as critical to the country's competitiveness' (DfEE, 1998: 3).

However, these aims were interpreted in different ways and ran up against the business ethos of the FE sector, as was warned in the Kennedy report. Responses to the Green Paper also

raised a number of issues, some of which could be seen as relevant to my study: These included the importance of building on existing structures to avoid being overwhelmed by overlapping initiatives and a wariness of too much reliance on Information and Computer Technology (ICT), although its potential to facilitate lifelong learning was also acknowledged.

The emphasis in all these reports on Further Education and in stakeholders' responses to policy statements, which were published in the late 1990s, was not just on increasing learning goals but also on widening access to learning for those who had not traditionally been able to take advantage of these opportunities. They all insisted that learning should encompass not just vocational training but also 'generic' and 'transferable' vocational skills and argued that Further Education was uniquely positioned to provide this learning, providing that sufficient resources were offered to support the learners from Level 2 (equivalent to GCSE) to Level 3 (equivalent to 'A' levels). This was considered to be the benchmark for future success in a competitive post-millennium society. These Labour government aspirations had direct implications for the learners on the course under investigation in this study, as outlined below.

2.2.1.3 *The Leitch Review of Skills (2005; 2006)*

The Government commissioned Lord Leitch in 2004 to undertake an independent review of the UK's long term skills needs within a global economy, to 'identify the UK's optimal skills mix for 2020 to maximise economic growth, productivity and social justice' (Leitch report, 2006:1). The Leitch review was an independent investigation, albeit commissioned by government. At the time, it was claimed that the UK had a stable and growing economy yet

serious social and geographical disparities were identified in terms of employment, child poverty and income and that productivity was found to be below that of other countries.

Moreover, it was claimed that ‘skills’ were not world class. The thinking of the time was that this might undermine the UK’s long term economic prosperity, since this was reliant on the country’s ‘capacity to innovate’ in an increasingly technologically-sophisticated and globalised market (Leitch Report, 2006:1).

The final report of the Leitch Review of Skills, *Prosperity for all in the global economy - world class skills*, published on 5th December 2006, stressed that the UK ‘must urgently raise achievements at all levels of skills and ...commit to becoming a world leader in skills by 2020, benchmarked against the upper quartile of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)’ (Leitch, 2006: 3). The incentive for this review appeared to be economic rather than broadly educational or social, measured as it was against global economic benchmarks using quantitative criteria. According to the criteria of this report, the UK education system was revealed to have both strengths and weaknesses. The Higher Education system was found to be excellent with increasing numbers of students, both home and international. There were also many good initiatives in Vocational Training. Moreover, the school system had become more effective over the previous decade in terms of the number of pupils gaining higher grades in assessment. However, there were also important weaknesses that required action: for example, one third of all UK adults did not have a basic school leaving qualification, (Level 2), almost 50% of adults had difficulty with numeracy and one seventh, with everyday literacy and intermediate and technical skills, which meant that in the OECD International Adult Literacy Survey and the Adult Literacy and Life Skills

survey, for example, “the UK lies in the bottom half of the OECD” in 1996. (Leitch, 2006:43).

Because over 70% of the target workforce for 2020 had already completed their compulsory education, it was thought that the post-compulsory education sector was the preferred site for skills development. Within Further Education, Level 2 and Level 3 were identified as critical points in the student progression route. The aims set out for 2020 were as follows: Level 2 was identified as being a minimum standard for at least 90% of adults to reach by 2020. 95% of adults were to achieve basic skills in functional literacy and numeracy, which meant an increase from 85% literacy and 79% numeracy in 2005. The balance of intermediate skills was to shift from Level 2 to Level 3, which meant improving the esteem, quantity and quality of intermediate skills with the aim of achieving 1.9 million additional Level 3 attainments and 500,000 apprenticeships by 2020; at least 40% of adults were to be qualified to level 4 and above, which meant that an increase of 11% over 2005 levels would need to be achieved. (A summary of these commitments is given in Leitch, 2006:55).

Moreover, the Leitch report indicated that ‘responsibility for achieving these ambitions had to be shared between Government, employers and individuals.’(Leitch, 2006: 27). This review, consequently, became the basis for a wide variety of initiatives by government agencies, providers and those employers who were motivated to take part and led to the Further Education and Training Act, 2007.

2.3 The re-shaping of the teaching and learning culture of Further Education: new management discourses and practices

‘Raising of standards’ in order to compete in a global economy involved measuring what standards were before and after intervention and comparing them within and across countries, as mentioned above. This led to a focus on accreditation, benchmarking, measurement of outcomes and accountability as part of a wider ‘audit culture’ (Strathern, 2000). We saw managerial discourses ‘colonising’ (Fairclough 1992, 2003) the order of discourse of FE institutions, as mentioned in 2.1. I will discuss below how these managerial discourses shaped the teaching and learning culture of FE through the conflation of the two domains of professionalism and accounting.

The new managerial discourses in Further Education include those about professional accountability, notably relating to planning for learning, engaging in ‘good practice’, showing outcomes, also keeping records and measuring progress. Strathern (2000:1) calls this ‘the audit culture’. She talks about a new and ‘ubiquitous’ consensus in professional workplaces, including the education and health sectors, about aims, objectives and procedures, which endorses governance, through two very different routes of economic efficiency and good practice. Strathern draws attention to the conflation of the areas of accountancy and ethics in a new accountability. She argues that this has led to the dominance of what are deemed ‘acceptable’ forms and practices, such as audits. As she says, the concept of the ‘audit’ ‘has broken loose from its moorings in finance and accounting’ and by crossing borders it has gained ‘the power of a descriptor seemingly applicable to all kinds of reckonings, evaluations and measurements’ (2000:2). What is ubiquitous is that, because it is offering globalised

professional consensus, 'audit is almost impossible to criticise in principle, advancing values that academics (and teachers) generally hold dear, such as responsibility, openness about outcomes and widening of access'(2000:3). By being naturalised rhetorically as a 'taken -for-granted process of neo-liberal government' (Strathern, 2000:3, citing Power, 1997), audit has become a way of monitoring people through the mantra of 'helping people help themselves'. This has been achieved in the UK through making evident the practice of 'self-checking' while the governmental and managerial class distance themselves by checking the 'resultant indicators of performance' (ibid:3).

The notion of a professional code of ethics, and specifically 'self- auditing', according to Pels (1999, cited in Strathern, 2000:10), arises out of the neo-liberal dilemma about ethics. It is underpinned by a discourse that Foucault (1988) referred to as one of the 'technologies of the self', namely, the humanist concept of the ideal towards which every person is striving. This, Pels argues, is a different 'technology of the self, one that is addressed to professional duties towards a public domain, through the 'seemingly neutral' notion of 'good practice', and it is strategic and politically motivated. Thus, as these authors suggest, it could be argued that there has been a convenient conflation of personal striving and professional 'good practice'.

Because only certain forms of autonomy are accessible to audit, 'only certain performances of good practice count' (Strathern, 2000:9). Controlling quality has meant that informal learning has given way to more formal assessment of learning, which can be measured and therefore made accessible to audit. As education institutions become re-defined in terms of skills and knowledge, competing in a global economy, almost all activities, redefined as skills sets, have

to be assessed and the practitioners of these activities have to be licenced and adhere to a code of practice. Thus, like people wanting to work as hairdressers or plasterers, Teaching Assistants (TAs) within primary education are required to gain qualifications which assess 'knowledge and skills' in order to access the workplace. 'Knowledge' and 'skills' in this context refer to units of information and discrete behaviours that are measured against criteria and accredited through an awarding body, CACHE.

Two research studies using a social practice approach to research on language and literacy within the education sector are worth mentioning here with regard to the audit culture and the focus on measurement via qualifications. One study, by Hamilton and Hillier (2006), took a historical approach to literacy, numeracy and ESOL teaching and learning from the 1970s onwards and considered the impact of accreditation on the teaching and learning of basic skills. The second study by Tusting (2012) concerned the paperwork load involved in recording for audit purposes, in two contrasting sites: a nursery school setting and a Further Education setting. Hamilton and Hillier (2006) drew our attention to the increasing accreditation required and the lack of autonomy experienced by basic skills tutors as government responded to global market pressure to produce a skilled workforce. These results resonate with those of Moss (2002) and Bourne (2000), mentioned below in 2.5.2.1, in relation to the implementation of the National Curriculum strategy and its effect on educational practitioner autonomy. The Labour government planned to achieve its aims by centralising its provision, focusing on narrow sets of knowledge and skill and by controlling the raising of standards. Tutors, meanwhile, had evolved their own student-centred approach to teaching basic skills, focusing on the diverse needs of the students they encountered. Their

view of their professional roles had been influenced by the radical and/or liberal values that they brought to the profession. As a result of these two opposing centralising and localising forces at work, tensions arose, which the tutors in Further Education and Vocational Education then had to manage.

In terms of basic skills, tutors had to adhere to a specific and prescriptive curriculum in order to guide the students towards accreditation. This attracted the funding, even if the students themselves were not either able or wanting to achieve a qualification. Meanwhile, the students, or learners, as they were subsequently called, wanted qualifications but not in basic skills. They wanted qualifications that would lead to a job e.g. a vocational qualification, or have academic value in the market, e.g. a GCSE. However, whether students were on Basic Skills Open College Network (OCN) programmes with Individual Learning Plans or vocational and academic programmes with examinations and portfolios of work, the auditing of knowledge and skill in order to raise standards and target funding meant providing evidence, which led inevitably to a higher work load for the tutors. Tusting (2012) picked up this theme in her research, in which she identified the complex literacies involved in auditing learning. She cited the commodification of education as the cause of this ever-increasing diversification of evidence production as institutions and providers compete in a global market place, already bursting with similar products.

2.4 Enduring discourses and teaching/learning practice among tutors in Further Education and Vocational Education

In contrast to the narrow discourse prevailing in the FE sector, of acquiring knowledge and skill and gaining qualifications through fulfilling learning outcomes and so on, many FE tutors were driven by another more empowering discourse. This involved raising the self-esteem of their adult learners by addressing their individual needs. Tutors on courses for Teaching Assistants, for example, saw their commitment as being as much to help them become responsible, ethical and nurturing education practitioners as to help them gain skills and knowledge, while acknowledging how important raising levels of knowledge and skills were to the learners in order to pass the course and access employment. Thus, as mentioned above, FE tutors attempted to mediate the dominant discourses for their adult learners, in accordance with the learners' goals and their own beliefs and values.

In contrast to the performance model of education, as represented in the National Curriculum Strategy (1999), the model of education espoused in Further Education is a very different one, namely, a 'competence' model of education. In theory, in a 'competence' model of education, according to Bernstein (1990), official pedagogic discourse sets up a context in which subject areas are more diffuse and learners have more control of the selection, sequencing and pace of the curriculum, 'facilitated' by their teachers who are under less pressure to meet targets. Moreover, there is supposed to be more emphasis on what learners already know and the skills they already possess. Classroom control tends to be personalized and focused on self-reflection.

Student or learner-centred approaches fit comfortably into this official pedagogic discourse.

As with all teaching in Further Education, teacher professionalism lies in an understanding of theories of learning and language development and in facilitating learning rather than in explicit teaching.

However, as Bernstein (1990) argues, whether learning is competence or performance based, all pedagogic discourse is essentially goal directed. Each curriculum is staged and hierarchically sequenced, either strongly in a performance model (graded tests), or more weakly but with staged evaluative criteria in a competence model (pass, merit and distinction criteria). More advanced learning is built on earlier experiences. Moreover, terms relating to the competence pedagogy, such as ‘facilitator’ and ‘independent learning’, which started life with the students’ needs at the centre, have been hijacked for commercial purposes in an overcrowded education market place.

As well as following the curriculum, the day to day practice of FE tutors working in similar areas to the one in the study, is guided by their own views about the nature of pedagogy in vocational and primary education and about the backgrounds of adult learners enrolled in vocational education classes.

Many tutors working in Further Education and vocational education at the time of the study shared the same beliefs and values about teaching and learning. These included a commitment to learner-centred pedagogy, to providing scaffolding for learning and to reflective practice. As I came to understand from my own lived experience as a Further Education tutor, these

views were embedded in wider discourses about pedagogy and about learning that circulated through teacher education courses for Further Education tutors and through conversations at work among colleagues.

Salisbury and Jephcote's (2005) research with Further Education tutors revealed similar attitudes. Some of the FE tutors in their study drew on their own educational experience, vowing never to behave in the negative way that others had behaved towards them. For example, one IT tutor told them how she had been picked on by her sewing teacher at school (Salisbury and Jephcote, 2005:5). Salisbury and Jephcote (2005) also note that 'personal and emotional knowledge acquired from their own life experience also underpinned the tutors' thinking about their work'.

In addition, a student-centred approach was often articulated by Salisbury and Jephcote's tutor interviewees (Salisbury and Jephcote, 2005), and provided a counter balance to the extra administration involved in auditing the teaching and learning. As one tutor in their study put it:

I mean none of us really are comfortable with admin I suppose. But...I am here to get these students through... I am here to help them have a pleasant, happy experience... I like seeing my students going on to HE. And I feel I'm a facilitator in all that. So I'm here to teach, I'm here for the students. They are my priority. I still haven't lost sight of that' (Art and Design Teacher, Salisbury and Jephcote, 2005:7)

Another discourse which was prevalent in FE at the time of my study (and still is) was that used in personal counselling. Ecclestone and Hayes (2009) refer to the term 'fragile' as being part of a growing discourse in all sectors of education and across all aspects of the learning

experience. Traditional students and trainees are described as ‘fragile’ and ‘needy’, and their teachers as ‘nurturing’ and ‘enabling’. According to Ecclestone and Hayes (2009), tutors are having to be self-deprecating, to undermine their knowledge, in order to put themselves on an equal footing with their learners. However, looked at from the point of view of the tutors, this could be seen as indexical of democratic participatory learning contexts.

Similarly, as Salisbury and Jephcote (2005) demonstrate, while many of the tutors they interviewed were teaching young learners, they did demonstrate a sophisticated ability to anticipate, enable and negotiate with their learners, even changing what they were doing in the middle of a session, ‘to rope them back in’ and ‘to raise their level of engagement’. As one of their interviewees stated:

You get a level 1 and you have to dilute everything down [...], level 3, and level 4 you are trying to get them to think more for themselves and do things for themselves. Level 1, level 2 it’s a lot of nurturing going on, there’s a lot of, you know, transition, getting them ready to be able to learn independently. (Interview with FE tutor, Salisbury, 2005: 12)

As Salisbury and Jephcote (2005) have shown, the FE tutors they studied were concerned with the ‘whole person’, knowing about the lives of the students outside the college and they spent a lot of time giving pastoral care outside college hours. They worked hard on the class dynamics, and try to build ‘positive learning climates’ (Jackson, 1968), which they believed would enable the students to engage in the processes of learning. As we see in this study, tutors ‘recognised the importance of securing pass results and qualifications but [were] adamant that grade outcomes were only part of the learning story’ (2005:14).

Student-centred learning has been the pedagogical approach that has guided many FE tutors. ‘Student-centred learning, as the term suggests, is a method of learning or teaching that puts the learner at the centre’ (cf. MacHemer & Crawford, 2007: 9; Boyer, 1990, cited in T4SCL, Stakeholders’ Forum, 2010). In this approach, the student voice is considered as central to the learning experience for every learner. Student-centred learning is focused on the students’ needs, abilities, interests, and learning styles with the teacher as a facilitator of learning. It has implications for the design of curriculum, course content, and the degree of interactivity in courses. The kind of activities that are consistent with this approach would be ‘discovery’ exercises, ‘problem solving’ activities considering ‘scenarios’, etc.

Underpinning student-centred learning is the idea that students actively construct their own learning. Developed from the writing of Vygotsky (1978), Bruner (1986) and Rogers (1996) it focuses on how students learn in interaction with others. It represents a shift away from an education model which involved focusing on input that is, teaching, to one that involved focusing on learner outcomes. In theory, the concept of student-centred learning sits comfortably within wider discourses of widening participation, inclusion and lifelong learning. However, there are problems when implementing student-centred learning, as this kind of pedagogy is not compatible with a fixed curriculum nor with formal assessment for qualifications, which are the basic requirements for raising standards and global competition for skills.

Student-centred learning plays a central role in the theoretical framework for the Early Years Education curriculum area and for the tutors working within that sector. Student-centred

learning is, moreover, a central tenet of contemporary adult 'vocational' education. The concept of 'scaffolding', in particular, is an important guiding principle for tutors working in this field. Mercer and Fisher (1993) "view the ZPD characteristic of transfer of responsibility for the task to the student as the major goal of scaffolding in teaching". While the ZPD concept is generally applied to accounts of children's learning, it can also be applied to adult learners in FE, who get individualised support through tutorial systems, workshop time and informal face to face talk outside of session time. Another important part of what tutors do to scaffold the learning is to 'model' practices (Bandura, 1986) for the students so that they can then extract the principles behind practices and apply these to their workplaces in a creative way.

In this discussion, I have tried to show how the values and beliefs of FE tutors might clash with the managerial discourses and the commodification of FE and how tensions might arise as a result. One way that the sector has tried to accommodate these tensions has been to co-opt the terminology of student-centred learning for their own ends. One way that the tutors have tried to accommodate these educational discourses is to mediate them locally for and with the students. Another strategy has been to distance themselves from the centralising discourses and stay close to the beliefs, values and practices of their local community of practice.

2.5 A vocational course in an FE context: the CACHE Level 2 Certificate for Teaching Assistants

After 1998, primary and secondary schools experienced an unprecedented amount of reform. These reforms were designed to raise standards of pupil performance in order to fulfil the expectations laid down by the government, as mentioned in section 2.2. Further Education colleges were seen as the key to provision of lifelong learning and to widening access, part of the main thrusts of government educational policy. Over the same period, schools chose to employ increasing numbers of TAs, to support the delivery of quality teaching and a modern curriculum. In this way, they could support the aims of the government in providing a qualified workforce that would be able to compete on a global scale. At the time of the study, the Further Education sector was one of the key providers offering to train these TAs for the workplace, either through college based courses with a work placement such as that administered by CACHE or through work based training such as National Vocational Qualifications.

OFSTED's Review of Primary Education 1994-98 (1999) stated: 'Well-trained teaching assistants are a key resource and are used very effectively in many primary schools.' The CACHE course in this research study fitted into this wider context. In the following sub-sections, 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, I will give a broad outline of the course in terms of the curriculum content and qualification in relation to different levels (2.5.1) and the discourses associated with the role of Teaching Assistants in Primary Education (2.5.2).

2.5.1 *Nature and content of the course*

The vocational course in this study was the Certificate for Teaching Assistants at Level 2. The awarding body for this course was the Council for Awards in Children's Care and Education (CACHE), despite the fact that the course did not relate to Early Years teaching as such but to the primary sector. This course trained students for employment in a variety of roles: teaching assistant, classroom assistant, learning support assistant and special needs assistant and was recognised as a technical certificate under the apprenticeship framework at Level 2 (CACHE Handbook 2008: vii). It fell under the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and 'provided the knowledge and understanding described in the National Occupational Standards for Teaching Assistants at Level 2' (ibid). It consisted of 120 hours of Guided Learning in a Further Education college and a minimum of 120 hours of Placement in a primary school, although it was possible to waive some of the tuition if students had had previous experience or training. There were two assignments, one based on the Role of the Teaching Assistant in supporting the National Curriculum and the other on legislation and school policy and the Role of the TA. Unlike the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) for teaching assistants, the teaching and learning for this qualification was classroom based. For this reason, it attracted students who might wish to work as Teaching Assistants in the future as well as those who were already working in the sector but who wished for more direct tuition than that given on the work-based learning courses. As with many qualifications in the education and care sectors, this qualification attracted mainly women (UK National Statistics, 2011).

Moreover, although students could register for the course at 17, they were usually older, had their own families and many of them were returning to study after a period of absence.

Because of the time away from school and because the entry requirements were minimal, that is, only one GCSE at grade D or above, the course attracted a number of students who struggled with their English and Maths at this level. However, basic skills were not offered as part of the CACHE course at that time, even though, to be an 'effective' Teaching Assistant, English and Maths at Level 2 are deemed to be important and may be needed to enter employment. In 2009, therefore, in order to comply with the government recommendations outlined above, a basic Maths and English course was piloted in the college in this study to run alongside the course but outside classroom time. However, it was cancelled due to the inability of students to attend.

By the end of the Teaching Assistant course, students were expected to be able to fully understand their role as TAs. They needed to be able to support the learning of the National Curriculum, in English, Maths and ICT, to know and apply legislation and government policy relating to the school sector and to understand and implement policies relating to their school placement. They were also expected to be able to work within multidisciplinary teams within the school environment, understand and be able to implement strategies to promote positive behaviour and show an understanding of diversity and inclusive practice. (See CACHE handbook for further details)

After successful completion of certificate courses such as the one in my study, students are able to progress to a Level 3 qualification for Teaching Assistants, subject to their potential

for a higher level of work plus other qualifications needed at Level 2. In order to access employment, a Level 3 is often required. However, a level 3 qualification is not funded, not being a level of study targeted by government policy therefore, access to employment is often blocked by those not having private funds. Moreover, there is competition for employment as a TA from graduates who need work experience before doing a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and from those who just want a temporary job after graduating. These graduates have higher level academic skills so are in demand from employers despite not having other types of knowledge or skill that are required of a TA.

Thus, in theory, and in accordance with the government reports and initiative outlined above, the adult learners in this study were being given a chance to return to study and to develop their knowledge and skills within a chosen vocational area with a view to accessing employment. In reality, their ability to access this employment depended on factors outside the classroom such as competition with university graduates and students from Level 3 courses and the availability of funding for Teaching Assistants in primary school budgets.

The extent to which they were being empowered to develop broader knowledge and skills to contribute to the wider society, as anticipated in *The Learning Age* 1998, depended on the pedagogic philosophy of the subject area and the teaching and learning that actually took place in each version of the course, e.g. the degree to which the tutor was guided by recent thinking about 'student centred learning', on what the tutor and the students brought to the course in terms of prior knowledge and experience, on how they negotiated identities and

relationships and on how they made sense of the content, the curriculum and the discourses underpinning it.

As discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4, there seems to be a tension between the pedagogy and beliefs and values of FE tutors around children's education and the constraints of accountability and raising standards in order to compete in a global market. Pulling in one direction are student-centred learning, scaffolding learning and reflective practice, which appear to align with the beliefs and values underpinning widening participation and inclusion. Pulling the other way are the pressures to be seen as meeting the government's targets and the length of time available for working towards these. The nuanced contributions of the practitioners and the students to the process of learning are often lost in the presentation of statistics. Moreover, institutional voices co-opt democratic voices and adapt them for their own goals. Some tutors, to hold on to their autonomy, work strategically, being pragmatic about complying with obligations while holding onto their beliefs and values with regard to teaching and learning.

While there are now some generic progression courses offered within the Further Education Sector, such as Skills for Life courses, Return to Study and Access courses, a vocational course such as the one investigated here provides an interesting case for study, exactly because it is supposed to fulfil the aspirations for Further Education set out in the government policies outlined above. However, some of the policies which underpin the curriculum are in tension with each other and with the practice and the lived experience of tutors and adult

learners. This tension has to be negotiated at local classroom level. I have tried to show in this study how some of these tensions are negotiated.

2.5.2 The discourses associated with the role of Teaching Assistants in Primary Education

2.5.2.1 Discourses about working with the National Curriculum

As Bourne (2000) has pointed out, in the late 1980s, we saw ‘the reintroduction of a mainstream performance model of language and literacy pedagogy, through the National Literacy Strategy’ in official pedagogic discourse in the UK (Bourne, 2000: 47). Using Bernstein’s (1990) identification of two major contemporary models of education, Bourne discusses how the National Curriculum Strategy for primary education clearly falls into a ‘performance’, top down, model of education, in which curriculum, skills to be learned and procedures are all centrally defined and classified, resulting in an educational context in which neither teacher nor student has much control of the learning (Bourne, 2000). Bourne (2000) and Moss (2002) both critically examined the formation of this new official pedagogic discourse around literacy when the National Literacy Strategy was first introduced in the UK, a pedagogic discourse in which all pedagogic control was moved from the periphery to the centre, in order to ‘raise standards’. Bourne (2000) argued that simply complying with a centrally designed strategy did not automatically lead to attainments of disadvantaged children being raised. Meanwhile, Moss (2002) argued that the increased focus on success in national tests meant that the teachers were losing their autonomy in order to comply with government policy.

Managerial discourses surface in the primary classroom context too. This is because there was a cross-sector change in the discourses about teaching and learning under New Labour as well as a general change in cultures of teaching and learning. These managerial discourses were diffused and applied but nevertheless woven into the fabric of the CACHE handbook instructions, into the National Curriculum Strategy Framework, therefore into the assignments and into the way the participants in my study talked about the syllabus.

2.5.2.2 *Discourses about inclusion, differentiation and special education needs (SEN)*

In the twenty first century, official thinking about pedagogy has changed from a psychology-based, neo-liberal individualised approach to diversity to a social model of ‘inclusion’, where all pupils receive personalised learning. In accordance with this shift, TAs are now responsible for supporting everyone in the class, rather than specific individuals. The legislative framework for this is as follows: ‘Legislation in the UK prohibits discrimination in education and supports inclusive education. The UK also has obligations under international human rights law to provide inclusive education for all children.’ (Centre for the Study of Inclusive Education, 2013: 1).

Inclusion in education involves a host of aims ranging from valuing all staff and students equally and increasing the participation of students, to viewing the difference between students as resources to support learning, rather than as problems to be overcome. TAs need to take their part in fulfilling these aims on a day- to- day basis, where they are relevant to their role.

In the CACHE certificate for Teaching Assistants, therefore, as with all vocational courses, learners are oriented towards relevant legislation. There are three particular areas of legislation and government policy that are relevant to SEN and the TA. The Children's Act (2004), The SEN Code of Practice (January 2001), which tells the TAs what they need to know and what they have to do in relation to the following: working in partnership with parents, pupil participation and working in partnership with other agencies and the Disability Discrimination Codes of Practice (Education) (Appointed Day) Order 2007. TAs are also encouraged to inform themselves of local school policies on inclusion and differentiation and so on. The legislation and local policies become part of the so called 'knowledge set' relating to the role. How to comply with these on a day to day basis is what is taught over the year and becomes the so called 'skill set' relating to the role. Their knowledge and skill relating to the TA role in supporting inclusion is assessed through an assignment, as in the class in this study.

CHAPTER 3: LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will cast a socio-historical gaze over the emergence and development of Linguistic Ethnography (LE). I will do this by briefly tracing the anthropological tradition from Linguistic Anthropology in the USA to Linguistic Ethnography in the UK. LE can be likened to Sociolinguistic Ethnography (Heller, 2011), which also combines an interest in forms of language and discourse with ethnography. Indeed, recent versions of Sociolinguistic Ethnography often start from Gumperz and Hymes and may link with social theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin or Pierre Bourdieu. (See Blommaert (2005), for recent examples of this, under the umbrella of LE). Rather than seeing Linguistic Ethnography as a paradigm, single theory or single approach. Rampton (2007: 585) refer to LE as a ‘site of encounter, where a number of established lines of research interact, pushed together by circumstances, open to the recognition of new affinities and sufficiently familiar with one another to treat differences with equanimity’. The extent to which a study is oriented towards ethnography or linguistics often depends on the professional background, expertise and interests of the researcher. It is this idea that has persuaded me to choose LE as an overarching approach for my research study. (See section 3.5 for a more detailed discussion of why I chose LE for my study).

LE developed largely within interpretive and anthropological traditions in the Social Sciences and takes an epistemological position that is broadly aligned with social constructionism and post-structuralism, in that it focuses on discourse and presents non-essentialist, situated

accounts of social life (Creese, 2008; Rampton, 2007). It is also shaped by the post-modern idea that meaning is not fixed but negotiated, that it is fluid and can be contradictory. As with other research under the umbrella of LE, this study is based on a view of language as social practice, drawing on 'practice theory'. The 'social action' view already underpinned Interactional Sociolinguistics/Ethnography of Communication.

In section 3.2, I will outline how LE developed and why. I will also consider what distinguishes LE from other similar developments and approaches. In doing so, I will make the case for eclecticism and outline the role that ethnography plays in LE, alongside other approaches. In section 3.3, I will discuss the role of ethnography in terms of assumptions held and how LE approaches differ. In 3.4, I will discuss some challenges to LE. Finally, in section 3.5, I will present my own case for deciding to use LE for this study and raise some issues that my professional background brings to the bear on this decision, along with the opportunities opened up by the move.

3.2 Different traditions with different histories

3.2.1 *Linguistic Anthropology*

The field of Linguistic Anthropology in North America, including Canada, offers an alternative view of theory building, where research questions are guided by theory. Linguistic Anthropology, which is a long established field going back to Edward Sapir and Franz Boas, was largely developed in North America and is located within the field of Anthropology. Gumperz and Hymes (1972) Ethnography of Communication was part of this tradition,

linking the areas of Linguistic Studies and Anthropology through a shared focus on communication and languages as forms of social action. For Linguists, language is the main resource for communication while, for Anthropologists, communication is seen as a process of drawing on our broader cultural repertoire for making sense of, acting in and experiencing the world (Hymes, 1974; Gumperz, 1982a). Thus, for Hymes (1974), communicative competence included ‘tacit knowledge’ about cultural norms for interactions. It was assumed that these norms were shared across a ‘speech community’

With the paradigm shift away from essentialism and towards discourse, however, terms central to EC such as ‘communicative competence’ and ‘speech community’ have been deconstructed and abandoned as being based on idealised notions of language expertise and group homogeneity. (Rampton, 2006)

3.2.2 Linguistic Ethnography in the UK and Europe

This tradition of study emerged in the last two decades. However, opportunity for dialogue with anthropologists has been notably lacking. For instance, in the UK, ‘rather than being debated at British Anthropology conferences, the links between language, culture and society have been more fully addressed at linguistics meetings’ (Rampton, 2007:586). Moreover, research questions have largely been guided by practitioners’ concerns rather than theory, under the broad banner of Applied Linguistics (ibid).

The development of Linguistic Ethnography has been eclectic because it has arisen out of the interests and backgrounds of its advocates. Researchers using LE tend to draw on conceptual

and methodological resources of relevance to them, from a range of different yet complementary disciplines and embrace interdisciplinarity, even where conceptualisations and assumptions have been slightly at odds. As Tusting and Maybin (2007:575-6) point out:

“It could be argued that sociolinguistics necessarily involves an interdisciplinary impulse, because of a search for social theory to complement the powerful framework of structural linguistics which has provided its theoretical core”.

This openness has allowed it to grow and even to break through barriers that were previously established between subject areas. An example of this is in the area of Sociolinguistics.

Traditional sociolinguistic ‘boundaries between variationist, sociological and ethnographic research areas have become blurred’ (Tusting and Maybin, 2007:576). Similarly, with the blurring of boundaries in all areas of social science, caused by the turn to discourse and the challenge to realist and essentialist readings of social life, plus the new social conditions of ‘late modernity and globalisation’ (ibid), researchers across disciplines as diverse as Social Psychology, Sociology and Linguistics have looked to the same social theorists, such as Foucault, Bourdieu, Bakhtin and Giddens, to try and provide answers to research questions that address the broader context of social life. This has led to an increase in interdisciplinarity across the social sciences (Maybin and Tusting, 2007: 576).

For example, as cultural and social dimensions of language have generated interest through the field of cultural studies and through social approaches to researching education and other social institutions, ‘there has been a growing interest among British Sociolinguists in the potential of combining linguistic analysis with ethnography in order to probe the interrelationship between language and social life in more depth’ (ibid). An example of this

can be found in Heller's (1999) work, which, over a ten year period, combined ethnography with detailed analysis of code switching at a local interactional level to study language ideology and maintenance in French language minority schools in Ontario. Also, Eckert (2000) combined language variation methods with ethnographic fieldwork using the concept of 'bricolage' (coined by Levi-Strauss, 1966) in her attempt to explore and reveal the subtle style and identity positions that young people adopted in an American high school. In a study of 'crossing' in adolescent talk, Rampton (2005), draws on Conversation Analysis, Ethnography and an overarching theory when he operationalizes Bakhtin's (1984) concept of 'double voicing' and Goffman's (1974) notion of 'performance' to try and draw out more nuanced understandings of what was happening linguistically in particular 'liminal' or transitional interactions in a UK secondary school. All these researchers choose to use these methodological and analytical lenses in combination because they argued that they reveal different aspects of the same picture and make it possible to tease out the nuances and complexity of the interactions as they are shaped by wider movements. They draw on metatheories such as 'late modernity' and post- structuralist theories of discourse and post-modernist theory with their emphasis on indeterminacy and fluidity.

Linguistic Ethnography, with its particular forms of eclecticism, brings together the strengths of the disciplines of linguistics or "linguistically sensitive Discourse Analysis" (Rampton et al, 2004:596) and Ethnography. As Rampton puts it: "Ethnography opens Linguistics up, inviting reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out" (ibid). At the same time, a close focus on language and on the 'voices' of particular participants in particular interactional episodes

“ties ethnography down, pushing cultural description towards the analysis of clearly delimitable processes” (ibid). In this way, Linguistic Ethnography has, to date, combined ethnography with many complementary approaches. These include Conversation Analysis, Classroom Discourse Analysis, New Literacy Studies, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discursive Psychology, Multimodal Analysis and Narrative and Interactional Analysis. While these approaches might use different methods and tools, they do nevertheless have some key assumptions in common with each other and with Ethnography.

3.3 The role of Ethnography

3.3.1 *Common assumptions*

What Rampton (2007:588) refers to as “the cultural dynamics of globalisation and free market capitalism” make connecting the local context with the wider global contexts relevant and important, rather than focusing simply on the local interaction itself. This has meant that there is a need for research to bring the macro and micro contexts together. Advocates of LE argue that the inclusion of Ethnography in linguistic accounts can do this. As Blommaert, (2005:16) puts it, “Ethnography sees the analysis of small phenomena as set against the analysis of big phenomena, in which ‘both levels can only be understood in terms of each other’, creating a continuum or continua across levels. Maybin’s (2006) work, involving fine grained classroom discourse analysis inspired by Bakhtin’s notions of dialogicality and voicing is a good example. As Creese (2010) explains, Maybin (2006) explored the classroom as a ‘multileveled ecology’ ‘in which voices cut across each other at different levels to reveal creative dialogic possibilities’ (Creese, 2010:140). Without ethnography, these subtle to-ings

and fro-ings between the different levels might otherwise go unnoticed or unappreciated. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003) expand the notion of levels across dimensions in their ecological study, using the notion of embedded continua. Ethnographic data sets such as field notes and diagrams, interviews plus reflexivity and personal experience of the setting, all help to interpret the meaning-making that is going on in the event. (See chapter 5 for further discussion of the generation of different data sets and their role in the analysis and interpretation of meaning making).

Finally, while traditional ethnographers were involved in ‘trying to get familiar with the strange’ in their anthropological field studies abroad, the motivation for LE researchers, who are often practitioners moving out of the field and into research, has been ‘to try to get analytic distance on what’s close at hand ‘ (Rampton, 2007: 590).

Rampton (2007:585) sums up two key assumptions made by researchers in combining ethnography and fine grained semiotic analysis: firstly,

“That contexts of communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically”

And secondly,

“That analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the ‘expression of ideas’, and biography, identities, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain”

3.3.2 *How LE approaches differ:*

Each of the approaches that have been combined with ethnography differs in some ways, according to their provenance. For example, New Literacy Studies is concerned primarily with how we understand, use and produce texts, in both monolingual and bilingual contexts. In this approach, interest has shifted beyond seeing texts-as-products to an understanding of texts-in-culture-as-a-process (Street, 1993). Tusting (2008) looks at ecologies of New Literacies and their implication for education, referring to texts as not only processual but also ‘constructed in social discourse and action’. (See also Barton and Hamilton, [1998]2012; Martin-Jones, 2011; Ivanic et al, 2009; Papi, 2005; Pahl, K. 2003; Baynham, 1995). By contrast, Systemic Functional Linguistics is more concerned with close analysis of language, mainly lexico-grammar, as a social semiotic resource for meaning-making. I will discuss SFL in more detail in chapter 4 (See Halliday and Hassan, [1985] 1997), for further explanation of SFL as they conceptualise it). Conversation Analysts are interested in the architecture and management of conversation, such as typical sequences and turn taking mechanisms. Traditionally, they look at broad patterns of occurrence of particular forms rather than considering context and use this information to see things from the point of view of the participants as they interact on a moment by moment basis. Thus, they focus very closely on language in interaction, using “the aesthetic of ‘smallness’ and ‘slowness’ (Heritage, 1984a:122-3). There is an assumption that everything counts and that nothing is too trivial to warrant close analysis.

Since LE proponents are informed by post- structuralist and post-modern understandings, which shape the ways they do their research, they tend to challenge narrower versions of CA

and look across levels and dimensions, as mentioned above. In the newer versions of CA that they draw on, they look for more complex nuances of particular instances or challenge accepted accounts of sequencing such as the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) pattern of interaction that Classroom Discourse Analysts saw as predominating in the classroom rather than being concerned strictly with identifying general patterns. Neither do they make assumptions about interlocutors being equal or sharing culture knowledge, as happened with traditional Conversation Analysts. (For a fuller account, see Richards, 2006).

There is, moreover, research into narrative-in-interaction, which also incorporates ethnographic perspectives. This research is post-Labovian, in the sense that there has been a recent shift away from this canonical narrative structuring of narrative, first proposed by Labov and Waletzky, (1967). Take, for example, the work of Bamberg (2007) on ‘small stories’. Bamberg (2007) and others, such as Baynham (2006), Georgakopoulou (2007), De Fina (2003), Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) and Wortham (2001) look at narratives in terms of both the narrated (story content) and the narrating (story telling) contexts in order to discover how people in particular events and situations present themselves and others to each other within the course of the conversation. Such an approach has been found invaluable in revealing the dynamic ways in which we negotiate identity, even in the smallest conversational stories or in the anecdotes we tell and the way we tell them. Narrative-in-interaction analysis, often combined with ethnography, has gained in currency because narrative resources can serve as contextualisation cues to particular identities that participants adopt and the discourse positions they assume. However, the voicing of identities, positioning or stance in narrative is not a new area of interest, having been mentioned by many others in

the field of language, including Hymes (1996) and before that, Bakhtin (1981;1986). (See chapter 4 for a definition and further discussion of the notions of stance, alignment and positioning and an outline of how I use narrative-in-interaction analysis).

New versions of CDA and Classroom Discourse Analysis have also been combined with Ethnography to explore institutional settings such as Media and Education. Blackledge (2004) for example, used a form of CDA that combined Foucault, SFL and Ethnography to critically analyse the negotiation of identities in political media texts, while Maybin (2006), mentioned above, conducted a Classroom Discourse Analysis that combined Ethnography, a Bakhtinian perspective and fine grained classroom interactional analysis. Creese et al (2008a) looked at interaction in complementary schools through the lens of team ethnography combined with analysis of teacher-students and student-student interaction.

Finally, multimodal analysis, such as that carried out by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Jewitt, C. (2001) or Scollon and Scollon, (2003) show us that semiotic resources combine in diverse ways to index particular ideologies and experiences, each resource revealing one aspect of a puzzle. Indeed, Scollon and Scollon's (2004) recent contribution of Nexus Analysis asks the analyst to be open to any and all resources that are relevant to the research context in a kind of 'bricolage' approach, in order to address the 'relationship between the micro, meso and macro' (Tusting and Maybin, 2007:581). Thus, if the aim of the project is largely exploratory in nature, i.e. grounded in ethnography, then combining different resources makes good sense and indeed, could be seen as essential, especially when investigating in detail a particular instance of a more general event such as in my research.

However, it then becomes important to adhere to the minimum standards of ethnography, namely, time, intensity, breadth and systematicity (Jaffe, 2003: 1)

To conclude then, these approaches on their own have particular aims and foci of interest, which arise out of their histories, and some early versions e.g. of CA and SFL, do not share the same conceptualisations and assumptions. However, combined through the emerging field of Linguistic Ethnography, all new versions of these approaches share certain properties and assumptions: firstly, they all understand language to be a form of social practice. Secondly, they tend to be led by practitioner concerns. Thirdly, they think of language and other semiotic systems as key resources for meaning making and fourthly, they see investigating context as shaping each event.

3.4 Some challenges to Linguistic Ethnography

Linguistic Ethnography has inevitably attracted some critical comment: relating to i) its eclecticism, as discussed above, ii) whether it is indeed a distinct approach and iii) confusion around realism vs constructionism (Hammersley, 2007). Arguments in favour of its interdisciplinary nature have been discussed above. Regarding the second point, Hammersley, (2007:690) questions its distinctness, calling it a 'rebranding' rather than an 'interdisciplinary field', as he claims Rampton is intending (p 689). Certainly, Rampton et al (2007) openly admit to LE's indebtedness to North American Linguistic Anthropology. However, they argue that it is distinct from that line of research even though some LE researchers take ideas from LA.

In the paragraphs that follow, I will briefly address Hammersley's second and third critical comments, taking first his argument that LE is simply a rebranding of other similar approaches: firstly, its originators argue that its distinctness lies in the practical concerns that drive the research; secondly, they suggest LE has opened up opportunities for new lines of study that arise out of a largely UK academic context, such as New Literacy Studies, in both mono and multilingual contexts of use. Take, for instance, the research by Street (1984) on cross-cultural perspectives on literacy; the research of Barton and Hamilton (1998), on community based literacy research, Gregory and Williams (2000)'s study of multilingual literacy in the Bangla community in East London and the work of Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) on multilingual literacy; thirdly LE proponents argue that they are currently evolving towards new versions of previous research, for example, multimodality research involving electronic media, new post structuralist versions of CDA and CA and new work being done on narrative (Baynham and De Fina, 2005; Georgakopolou,2007; Bamberg, 2007; Wortham, 2001). In addition to the use of new or re-contextualised methodologies, LE researchers argue that they focus on specific topics such as multiple identities, performativity and everyday life (e.g. Rampton, 2005). This is partly because LE, along with research in other social sciences, has looked to European social theorists such as Russian -born Bakhtin and French- born Bourdieu and Foucault, to provide overarching ideas that bring together different methodologies and domains of interest.

Hammersley (2007) challenges LE on another issue, namely confusion arising from the tension between realism and constructionism, which has become more problematic as a result of eclecticism, arising from the different stances taken by different disciplines. As

Hammersley (2007) points out: ‘CDA often adopts a realist view while CA has developed in a predominantly social constructionist direction’ (Hammersley, 2007:691). Moreover, ambiguities occur in the way that researchers address their participants in realist terms, for example, in contradiction to the way that they present their epistemological position as social constructionist (Hammersley, 2007). However, Linguistic Ethnography has remained relatively open to ideas, even if the researchers working with this approach draw on conflicting theoretical and methodological resources. Maybin and Tusting, (2007:58) note that Linguistic Ethnographers, while adopting the social constructionist position:

“that human reality is reproduced and created in the socially and historically specific activities of everyday life and that broader structures are constructed in moment-to-moment interaction”

tend to take a realist position in so far as they make a political commitment to social justice.

This

“entails a belief in, and a critique of, the pre-existing social structures and power relations which shape and constrain actions and interactions” (ibid).

Indeed, they often investigate inequality in real situations outside the research context.

3.5 Why I chose to use LE for my study and what it might contribute to educational research about language.

With a view to exploring the role of language in an adult vocation classroom, I combined Classroom Discourse Analysis with Ethnography, drawing on the ideas of social theorists, building knowledge inductively rather than deductively, through exploration rather than

aiming to test an a priori theory. To explore language in this way, I decided at the start of the study, that I needed a framework that aligned with ideas of exploration of language as part of a context of use. Ethnography served this purpose, especially Hymesian Ethnography of Communication. I also needed a framework that was broad enough to allow me to choose to look at my research data through a range of different fine-tuned lenses, depending on what I found salient and wished to pursue in more detail. My research questions were broadly formulated and related to the exploration and construction of a picture of language use.

I thought I could deepen our understanding of the way that students and tutors in the FE context that I was concerned with drew on communicative resources to relate to each other and to make sense of the vocational course in its own terms and also in relation to the workplace and their own lives, by using a framework such as EC and combining this with fine grained semiotic and /or linguistic analysis. Thus, my own engagement with Linguistic Ethnography started from an interest in Hymes' ideas, enshrined in Ethnography of Communication and in the interactional ideas of Erving Goffman (1959). Starting with these two research traditions I hoped to develop a picture of what was going on, moment to moment, in one adult vocational classroom between the class participants. I proceeded to go on to explore various different approaches such as Conversation Analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and Narrative Analysis as possible frameworks for exploring further the communication practices that I uncovered in the process of generating and analysing the classroom data, keeping in mind my original desire to embrace the embedded nature of classroom interaction in the wider context of situation. However, the more I explored the talk, the more I changed how I understood context to be,

moving from a position where I saw context as surrounding the immediate situation as in the term ‘con’ and ‘text’ to a position where I saw context as being actually produced and reproduced through the discourse/s, that is, the world was not just a neutral given reference point and nor was it whole but was, to an extent, coming into being through being talked about and experienced. At the same time, I needed to take account of the sociocultural, institutional and historical situatedness of the participants and the space. My position was thus being shaped by my own experience of the post- structuralist ‘turn to discourse’ in which the use of language resources are central to our understanding of how we experience the world, though I came to appreciate that language per se was nevertheless just one amongst a range of available semiotic resources for meaning-making. My thinking was also being shaped by the post-modern sense of fragmentation of meaning

“In postmodernity, it is complexity, a myriad of meanings, which is the norm” (Usher and Edwards, 1994:10)

and the deconstruction of grand narratives:

“There is an increasing recognition that all knowledge claims are partial, local and specific rather than universal and ahistorical, and that they are always imbued with power and normative interests” (ibid)

From accepting certain ideas as givens, I started problematizing definitions and deconstructing my taken- for- granted notions. I discovered that terms such as ‘context’, ‘identity’ and even ‘language’ had been re-contextualised for a world order in which understandings were relative, being subject to perspective. Part of this involved an increasing interest in breaking down the grand narratives and focusing on situated everyday activities, positioned socio-historically. Earlier versions of EC, CA, Interactional Sociolinguistics,

Micro-ethnography, CDA and Narrative Enquiry had already been breaking down previous barriers though with post-structuralist and post-modern understandings, new versions of these developed, which were anti-essentialist, more situated and socio-historically contingent.

What I took from EC and CA was the analysis of social action, the moment by moment to-ing and fro-ing between participants in interactions in the classroom, and the appreciation that everything was worthy of study. Unlike CA analysts, however, I was interested in the macro and meso as well as the micro contexts. I became ever more influenced by post- modern concepts of flux and ambiguities and interested in how sociocultural dialogicality could result in the creative appropriation of ideas , as theorised by sociocultural commentators such as Bakhtin (1981 and 1984). These creative ambiguities can be evidenced in any interactional discourse, but I found them to be particularly pertinent in a site of dynamic tension such as an institutional environment, where a power imbalance is invested in the roles that are set up and in the practices associated with these roles. The ideas of theorists such as Bakhtin and Bourdieu seemed to resonate with my concerns as I worked on my data generation in 2009 and continued on with the analysis and interpretation after that time. Rather than continuing to draw on earlier, less problematic conceptualisations and interpretations of what was going on in the classroom, I started drawing on aspects of newer, looser versions of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Conversation Analysis and Narrative Analysis in combination, treating them as analytical tools, under the umbrella of Linguistic Ethnography. Within the broader framework of LE, I was also able to draw on some theoretical ideas of Bourdieu and Bakhtin. Linguistic Ethnography therefore afforded the possibility of using more than one approach, in order to tease out the subtleties and nuances of one set of situated interactions

and identify how I could provide a deeper explanation of these subtleties and nuances with reference to broader theoretical ideas and contexts.

Grounding the study ethnographically meant that I would incorporate participant observation as a component of my research design and that I would aim to be as reflexive as possible at each stage of the research process. Meanwhile, I felt that fine grained analytical frameworks for examining particular features of language and genres as communicative resources, such as Hallidayan Functional Linguistic Analysis and Narrative-in-Interaction Analysis, could shine a light on different aspects of the situation so that I might build a picture of the role language played in the lived experience of the classroom interactional culture and show how the adult vocational classroom could be construed. These ideas will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: CLASSROOM INTERACTION, IDENTITIES, RELATIONSHIPS AND LEARNING

4.1 Introduction

In this study, I am taking the view that language contributes to the construction of identities and relationships in and through the interactional routines of classroom life. At the same time, relationships move backwards and forwards along continua of power and social distance. The focus of the first part of this chapter is going to be on key orienting ideas for the study, including several Social Constructionist approaches to identity and relationships. The theories that I will look at in greater depth adopt a combination of Social Constructionist and Post-Structuralist/Post- Modern perspectives (sections 4.5 and 4.6). First, though, in section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, I will touch on earlier contributions that have helped to guide this study and whose ideas I have drawn on in the analysis of the data, for example, the ideas of Halliday ([1985] 1997) on language as a social semiotic, the work of Irving Goffman (1959) on presentation of self, the work of John Gumperz (1982a) on discourse strategies and identity and early work on alignment and relationships. In addition, I acknowledge the starting points for analysing the data, namely, Ethnography of Communication, Conversation Analysis and classical Classroom Discourse Analysis.

In 4.5 and 4.6, I will then consider how changes to the way that identity and language have been understood, arising from post-structural and post-modern theories currently circulating across the social sciences, have informed my understanding of the research site. In 4.7, I will

discuss some ways that the social mediation of learning has been theorised and how identity and narrative fit in with this social model, especially in relation to research conducted in further education, the main research site for my study. Throughout this chapter, I will set out my understandings of theories and indicate how they relate to my study.

4.2 Language as a social semiotic

One framework for the micro analysis of language use that I found compatible with Linguistic Ethnography and which I had knowledge of was Systemic Functional Linguistics, developed by Halliday ([1985] 1997) around his conceptualisation of language as a social semiotic. I will briefly outline how I understand this framework and in what way and to what extent I found it productive as a tool for my analysis. In chapter 5 on methodology, I explain how I used this framework as part of my analysis.

Halliday ([1985] 1997) approached language from a social semiotic perspective. For Halliday, linguistics was one aspect of the study of meaning, with language as one semiotic system amongst a range of cultural sign systems, which interrelate. In describing the approach as ‘social’ firstly, Halliday is referring to culture or social system and to social structure (Ibid : 4). He and his colleagues were particularly interested in the social dimension, which they saw as especially relevant to the educational questions they were interested in, learning being considered as a social process (Ibid:5).

The framework was based on the notion of ‘context of situation’, coined by Malinowski (1923) and refined by the Firth (1935) who argued that “all linguistics was the study of meaning and all meaning was function in context” (cited in Halliday and Hassan, [1985] 1997:8). This approach to language in context was similar to the way Hymes (1967, 1972c) characterised the situation of a ‘text’ in *Ethnography of Communication*.

Importantly, the term ‘text’ is for Halliday “any instance of living language that is playing some part in the context of situation, either spoken or written or in any other medium of expression that we can think of” (Halliday and Hasan, [1985]1997:10). Both this broader conceptualisation of ‘text’ and the semantic /functional way that communication is conceptualised has led to Halliday’s framework being used to analyse all kinds of multimodal texts. The works of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2001), Jewitt, Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2001) and Scollon and Scollon (2003) are examples of this kind of multimodal analysis.

For Halliday and Hassan ([1985] 1997), moreover, ‘text’ has to be seen as both product and process:

“It is a product because it is an output that can be recorded and studied, having a certain construction that can be represented in systematic terms. It is a process in the sense of a continuous process of semantic choice, a movement through a network of meaning potential, with each set of choices constituting the environment for a further set” (ibid:10).

In Halliday and Hasan’s ([1985] 1997) social semiotic perspective, “the fundamental form of a text is that of dialogue” (Ibid: 11). In its ‘process’ aspect, it is seen as “an interactive event, a

social exchange of meanings”, related to “spoken interaction among speakers and ultimately to ordinary everyday conversation” (ibid: 11).

Halliday (1994) argued that by considering aspects of the context of situation and the semantic metafunctions associated with them, that is, field, tenor and mode, analysts are able to identify how language, amongst a range of other semiotic systems, is used as a resource for realising, or indeed making, meaning. Thus in my study, classroom talk in further vocational education can be analysed to see where along a continuum between ‘text’ as process and ‘text’ as product the exchanges lie, taking into account what is happening and how the world is represented in the talk (ideational meaning), what the roles and relationships between the participants might be and how they might present themselves (interpersonal meaning) and what role language and other semiotic resources play (textual meaning). Such features as vague language, non-specialist lexis and informal grammatical constructions such as ellipsis and contractions, plus the extensive use of personal pronouns and emotive and attitudinal phrasing, are some realisations of “ordinary everyday face to face exchanges” (Ibid: 11), where interlocutors might be considered to assume a shared context, certain group memberships and equality of relationship. In formal institutional settings, however, where there is greater social distance, less assumed shared context and a greater differential in terms of power, language features would be seen to realise very different meanings and functions, according to Halliday. I found that by considering social distance, solidarity and power as dimensions with language features being identified along continua, I was able to analyse the nature of the classroom talk in my study, using Halliday’s framework as a guide to how different kinds of meaning were constructed linguistically.

My approach, therefore, draws on Halliday's analytical framework. However, I do not see language as a bounded or unified system, but rather as a set of resources in keeping with post-structuralist/post-modern perspectives, that is, as fluid, variable and ambivalent and emergent. These flexible and variable resources include multimodal literacies, genres, styles and registers. I also acknowledge that people have very different access to communicative resources, in line with critical post-structuralist work, e.g. Fairclough, (1992), Blackledge & Creese (2010) and Baynham & Prinsloo (eds.) (2009).

4.3 Constructionist approaches to language, identity, relationships and involvement in interaction: orienting theories for my study

Identity has been linked to language in various ways since the shift to discourse that arose with the rise of Social Constructionism. Prior to that, identity was seen in classic sociological and psychological terms. Relatively fixed and stable categories such as 'gender', 'race' and 'ethnicity' were taken as *a priori*, single categories in research studies rather than foregrounded in terms of how they were discursively produced. They were used as starting points from which to ask other research questions, for example, about classroom interaction, and tended to be investigated singly rather than in combination.

With the turn to the centrality of discourse in the construction of social life, identity came to be seen as a product of interactional practices. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) have put it:

“social constructionists conceptualize identities as an interactional accomplishment, produced and negotiated in the process of the interaction” (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:13).

As some social constructionists have provided orienting ideas for my research, in the way they have theorised language, identity and involvement, I will briefly touch on these in sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 below.

4.3.1 Key concepts from the work of Erving Goffman

Erving Goffman's (1959) notion of 'presentation of self' has been a significant foundational influence throughout the research process. My study originated in my excitement with the way Goffman conceived identity in terms of the way people strategically 'performed' and presented aspects of themselves in interactions and in the way they endeavoured to shape and were inevitably shaped by the perceptions of other co-participants.

In face-to-face or mediated encounters with other participants, Goffman (1967) argued that an individual will claim a 'face' for him or herself, defined as 'an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes'. In Goffman's view, speakers

“act out a *line*, a pattern of verbal or non-verbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself. Regardless of whether a person intends to take a line, he will find that he has done so in effect. The others will assume that he has more or less wilfully taken a stand, so that if he is to deal with their response to him, he must take into consideration the impression they have possibly formed of him” (Goffman, ([1967] 2005:5)

All participants in an encounter are interested in cooperating on such 'face work' because the encounter will break down if there is loss of face. Therefore, if anyone performs a face threatening act of some kind, either intentionally or unintentionally, it is in everyone's interest to cooperate in saving the face of the person it was done to, whether they themselves did it or

not. I found the two related notions of ‘presentation of self’ and ‘face work’ relevant to my interpretations of what was going on in my study.

Goffman’s concept of ‘footing’ was also relevant to my study from an early stage, being closely allied to the notions of stance, alignment and of self- presentation. For Goffman, “a change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production and reception of an utterance” (1981:128). Goffman argues that participants constantly change their ‘footing’ over the course of their talk.

4.3.2 *Conversation Analysis and identity: Membership categorisation*

Ethnomethodologically oriented conversation analysts discuss identity in terms of Membership Categories, analysed through talk- in- interaction. As explained by Antaki and Widdicombe (Eds.) (1998), two discursive psychologists:

...a person's identity is their display of, or ascription to, membership of some social category, with consequences for the interaction in which the display or ascription takes place.

In other words...[it is] not that people passively or silently have this or that identity, but that they work up and work to this or that identity, for themselves and others, there and then, either as an end in itself or towards some other end. If this working-up and working-to of identity happens in interaction, the argument continues, then the best tools to examine it will be those appropriate to the medium of interactional business, namely, talk."

Richards (2006) uses the work developed by Zimmerman (1998) on Membership Categorisation Analysis to analyse discursive, situated and transitory identities and how they can be identified in classroom talk. For Zimmerman (1998) there are three types of identities

that operate in interaction: firstly, there are discursive identities, such as speaker and listener, which relate to turn by turn sequences of talk and therefore are contingent; secondly, there are situated identities, such as teacher and student, or interviewer/interviewee, which are made relevant through the discursive identities and relate to specific settings (Zimmerman 1998: 426). The alignment between these two identities is what makes ‘doing a lesson’ or ‘doing an interview’. Thirdly, there are what Zimmerman calls ‘transportable’ identities or ‘categorical’ identities (Zimmerman 1998), such as gender, age, ethnicity, which can be made relevant within the interaction (or not). In later post-structuralist and post-modern versions, the emphasis is on both the negotiation of power and the fleeting, multiple, contradictory nature of identities, as I will discuss in section 4.5. While CA became known for its rigour in revealing sequencing organisation and turn taking management, Membership Categorisation was part of Harvey Sacks’ ([1971] 1978) framework and concerned how the categories that people draw on in their talk to describe themselves and others carry implications for how they see themselves and each other. This earlier constructivist way of conceptualising identity foreshadows yet differs from more recent, post-structuralist research on stance and alignment. I discuss this in 4.6.2.

Richards (2006) draws on Classroom Discourse Analysis to discuss Initiation, Response, Feedback (IRF) sequences in English language classroom talk. He shows how the Feedback stage offers opportunities for performing transitory identities, while the Initiation and the Response stay constant, due to default identification, pre-ordained by the institution and the worlds that underpin it, namely ‘tutor’ and ‘student’, and in turn due to the discursive identities that arise from these, namely questioner, answerer, etc. This theory seemed relevant

to the talk in my classroom data, in which the tutor (whom I am calling Tess) when she was 'doing being the tutor' initiated, responded and fed back to the adult learners. In this way, she controlled the topic selection and execution, she initiated the questions which participants, 'doing being students' responded to, or she allowed them to ask questions, either to herself or each other and she fed back on their responses. However, I did not find that transitory identities were limited to the feedback stage. I have referred to this in chapter 6.

4.3.3 *Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and identity: Gumperz*

Gumperz was interested in inter- group communication and showed how categories such as ethnicity, language, etc. are 'communicatively produced'. For Gumperz and others with a similar perspective, identity construction was as embedded in social, political and ethnic hierarchies. Therefore "to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise" (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 1982b:1).

He emphasises the need to take action, to have an impact and address inequalities. To do this, we have to analyse, not just the organisation of conversation or how the communication works but also what effect it has on people's lives.

"We must focus on what communication does: how it constrains evaluation and decision making, not merely how it is structured" (ibid).

This approach seems to anticipate post-structuralist thinking in that the micro and macro contexts are looked at together and that unequal power relations are taken into consideration.

For Gumperz and colleagues, group identities are built up and reproduced within interactions, and it is the conventions attached to these interactions that build up over time and space that construct group boundaries and group ‘members’ with a particular identity.

At a later stage in his work, Gumperz’s attention shifted to contextualisation. He argued that in order to pick up highly sensitive and nuanced differences between people’s identities as continually reproduced in interactions, both fine grained analysis of contextualisation cues and detailed ethnographic work are required. This move to combining ethnographic work with detailed linguistic, prosodic, etc. analysis became a bridge across which sociologically and psychologically inclined linguists could move, to take on more sophisticated analysis that not only provided answers about new kinds of identity work but also about how macro and micro contexts constituted each other. Gumperz’ understanding that identities were built up and reproduced within interactions rather than imposed and the fact that he also recognised unequal relations of power by taking account of ideologies made his work relevant for researchers seeking to answer questions that were being asked about previously essentialist notions such as work and family.

4.4 Early studies in involvement-in-interaction strategies

4.4.1 *Interactive synchrony*

Birdwhistell (1970:86-7), makes the following point about the accomplishment of synchrony in interaction: “In the end, one begins to see that the models of coordination and cooperation in singing mirror and support the key patterns of everyday co-action”. Other linguists have

also highlighted this aspect of interaction. For example, Erickson and Shultz (1982) show how “successful conversation can be set to a metronome” in a study of counselling interviews. Similarly, Scollon (1982) argues that “it is ‘ensemble’¹ which holds participants together in a mutual attention to the on-going situation” (ibid: 344).

4.4.2 Participation in sense-making through indirectness or silence

Tannen recognised that ‘participation in sense-making’ (Tannen, 2007:37) might involve indirectness, ellipsis and/or silence. All convey meaning. Interlocutors make sense of each other’s contributions by filling in information from their shared context and/or background. Indirectness, ellipsis and silence can all be ways of building rapport through ‘mutual participation in sense making’, even if they are not playing an active or obvious role in meaning making. In an adult classroom context, whole class discussion might be intended for the whole class, and indirect terms of address such as ‘you’ and ‘you guys’ might be used to draw people in without focusing on one individual in particular. However, not everyone will choose to participate by speaking, for reasons of their own. Nevertheless, they might still be participating in sense-making.

4.4.3 Imagery and detail

While being typically associated with literary discourse, reference to imagery and detail has also been found in everyday talk. Chafe (1984:1099) found that conversational discourse had “a tendency towards concreteness and imageability”, both of which “are associated with particularity”. Although the interactions in my study took place in the institutional context of

¹ In music, “ensemble refers to the extent to which performers have achieved one mind[...]. Of the elements which contribute to the achievement of ensemble, tempo is the guiding element”(Scollon,1982:342:3)

adult vocational education, I noticed in the tutor's conversational style, a 'to-ing and fro-ing' between the particular and the general, the concrete and the abstract. In relation to this, I noticed that the students had a tendency, albeit within the constraints of whole class interactions, to respond to a general question with a particular answer, taken from their own 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al, 1992). Part of this particularity lay in the imagery and detail displayed and especially in a tendency towards creative language play, which focused on adapting formulaic expressions, sayings and texts in creative ways for new contexts and audiences. Carter (2004) refers to such language play as 'pattern reforming'.

To summarise, involvement strategies are "speakers' ways of shaping what they are talking or writing about". They are also evaluative, according to Tannen, (2007:42). According to Bateson's ([1955]1972') framework "they contribute to the metamessage, the level on which a speaker's relationships to the subject of talk and to the other participants in talk are negotiated

While these studies conceptualise communication using particular lenses and focusing primarily on particular moments of interaction, other recent researchers working within a Post-Structuralist or Post-Modern frame of reference, prefer to see communication as more negotiated, ambiguous and indeterminate, while still being related to identity and while also being situated within unequal relations of power. I would argue, however, that these earlier ideas are useful in terms of laying down some ground work for considering the way that linguistic and generic resources are used in classroom discourse and for investigating the way people work together to make sense of a situation, the way they relate to each other and the

way in which they present themselves to each other or perceive others in a particular context, within a political, social, historical and economic moment in time and place.

4.5 Post-structuralist/post-modern understandings of language and its relation to identity and relationships.

While constructionist theorisations and analytical frameworks continue to resonate and be productive, post-structuralist and post-modernist orientations have gained ground over the last two decades and have also shaped my understanding of my data. In this section, I will first consider how post-structuralism has influenced different researchers working in areas akin to my own: areas such as linguistic ethnography, sociolinguistic ethnography and updated versions of earlier frameworks, mentioned in 4.3 and 4.4. In 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, I will consider how researchers working in the area of multilingualism have theorised and researched language and identity, looking particularly at the role that post-structuralism played in their understanding and also, considering the extent to which it was relevant to my own data analysis and interpretation. In 4.5.3, I will introduce some Bakhtinian concepts that I found relevant to the study. Bakhtin has been influential for many recent social and linguistic theorists, for example, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Maybin (2006), Holland ([1998] 2001) and Rampton (2005).

In 4.6, I will consider more closely how researchers have analysed identity in interaction, with a particular focus on narrative. In analysing my own data, the use of narrative appeared to be related to certain identities taken up by the participants, although not all identification and positioning was related to the narrative mode. In 4.6.1, I will consider perspectives from discursive psychology, specifically positioning and in 4.6.2, I will briefly introduce the

notions of stance and alignment in relation to positioning. In 4.6.4 and 4.6.5 I will consider two researchers, Stanton Wortham and Deborah Tannen, who have explicitly developed the ideas of Bakhtin, (1981; 1984; 1986), on voicing, double voicing and ventriloquation. I will show how they have drawn on Bakhtin to talk about and analyse narrative in interaction.

4.5.1 Research in multilingual settings: combining social constructionist frameworks with post-structuralist/post-modern orientations.

For those conducting research into the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts, both Social Constructionist and Post-Structuralist thought have important contributions to make to current theorising of language and identity (Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Heller, 1999; Jaffe, 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, among many others). However, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) draw on critical researchers such as Bourdieu, (1991) to argue that “the Social Constructionist agenda has underestimated the role of power” in shaping how identities are categorised, for example, “how identities might be legitimized or devalued in the context of a particular global and local political economy” (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:13). Moreover, Post-Modern thought identified “splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous”, bringing to light ‘hybrid, transgendered and multiracial identities” (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:13).

In their discussion of research into the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: *ibid*) argue for combining the Social Constructionist focus on the discursive construction of identities with a Post-Structuralist emphasis on the role of power relations. From a preliminary investigation of my interactional data, I find myself in agreement with them and others in the field, who have put forward similar arguments with

specific reference to education, e.g. Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996; Heller, 1999; Jaffe, 1999; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001. The adoption of the two foci represents a significant change in theorising the relationship between situated and interactional practices and wider social processes while also making it possible to highlight the ambiguous, fluid quality of negotiations of identity in classroom interactional data.

4.5.2 Post-structuralist/post-modern understandings of language and identity, as revealed through research in multilingual settings.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) focus on five properties of identity which I have found interesting to consider in my own analysis and interpretation of classroom interactional data, although these researchers were not writing specifically about educational settings. All five properties of identity combine Social Constructionism with Post-structuralism in productive ways. I will briefly unpack each one.

Firstly, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) take the Social Constructionist view that “identity options are constructed, validated and offered through discourses available to individuals at a particular point in time and place” (2004:14). I understand this to mean that identity options are embedded in situated discourse and language ideologies and are not unconditionally available.

Moreover, for Social Constructionists such as Gergen (1994), language and identity are mutually constitutive: ‘on the one hand, discourses within languages provide the terms and other linguistic means with which identities are constructed and negotiated. On the other, ideologies of language and identity guide the way that individuals use linguistic resources to

index their identities and to evaluate the use of linguistic resources of others' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 14). In the context of my study, I understand this to mean that, on the one hand, my participants had the communicative resources available to them in an adult vocational classroom setting, which they could draw on and use, while on the other hand, the values associated with the identities that the participants negotiated shaped the way that these resources were drawn on and talked about and the way that identities were negotiated.

Secondly, post-structuralist- oriented researchers such as Heller (1999) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) draw on Bourdieu's (1991) model of 'symbolic domination' to show that identities are embedded within local and global relations of power. This relates specifically to the post-structuralist orientation towards both local and global power relations and the need to take account of these in any research setting. There is a focus on social justice and the positioning of individuals within unequal relations of often hidden 'symbolic' power, in which they are complicit. According to Bourdieu (1991:163), symbolic power is that "invisible power which can only be exercised with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it".

In the field of education, ideology is encoded in a particular way that tutors and students may or may not be aware of. In educational systems such as that in the UK, lip service is paid to respecting peoples' language repertoires as 'Language variation':

- `Pupils should be taught about how speech varies:
 - a. in different circumstances [for example, to reflect on how their speech changes in more formal situations]

b. to take account of different listeners [for example, adapting what they say when speaking to people they do not know]" National Primary Curriculum Guidelines for English (2011:3).

Nevertheless, there is also recognition that there is a preferred or 'appropriate' way of speaking and particularly writing, a 'legitimate language', in Bourdieu's (1991) terms, in an educational context, which the students and tutor tend to both agree with and expect to adhere to, based on their shared experience of education. In reality, people's experience of education and appropriate ways of speaking and writing inevitably differ, depending on their cultural background, their age, etc. Moreover, people's motivations differ. However, Bourdieu also showed us that the field of education reproduces particular discourses and relationships which are different from those outside education and which assume a certain hierarchical structure which 'successful' students tend to buy into. This is where the complicity lies. I am not convinced that adult students automatically buy into these 'legitimate discourses' so readily. I would argue rather that they negotiate and navigate their way through, in order to fulfil their own goals. Bakhtin's notion of 'appropriating' other people's words seems to resonate more with what I found in my study.

Thirdly, for these researchers, operating within the area of research on multilingualism, influenced by postmodern ideas, identity is viewed as being multiple, dynamic, shifting, fragmented and frequently hybrid. As Pavlenko and Blackledge put it, 'identities are best understood therefore when approached in their entirety rather than through consideration of a single aspect' (2004:16). In different settings, individuals might position themselves one way or another and might even shift from one positioning to another within one setting, depending on the audience. This kind of constant shifting in positioning within one setting resonates with

what I found in my study and, as I will show later in the thesis, seems to involve creative agency, depending on the communicative resources available to individual speakers.

The idea of hybridity, leading to the creation of a ‘third space’ has also been explored by various authors doing research in multilingual educational settings e.g. Gutierrez (2008).

Following Bhabha (1990), it is due to the multiplicity, fragmentation and shifts in the process of identification that new identity options become available. In educational contexts such as that of my study, the notion of ‘third space’ is particularly relevant, since a classroom is a site for transformation where alternative identity options are available to participants, as they develop new linguistic repertoires, that is, where participants can present themselves and be perceived in new ways that were not open to them previously. Indeed, one reason why analysing classroom discourse in relation to identity is so fruitful is because classrooms are sites of tension between what Bakhtin (1981: 272) refers to as ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal’ forces where there is potential for appropriation and transformation.

Fourthly, forging new identity options requires imagination, new ways of doing things, drawing on any resources that are available. Hall (1990, cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:17) refers to this as “the process of imaginative production of identity”. Different semiotic resources may be involved, one important resource being language. Semiotic resources such as dress, behaviour, body language and even location in space might all be drawn on, in a kind of ‘bricolage’ employing an identity ‘tool kit’. I would argue that it is not only when new identity options are explored that individuals draw on a bricolage of available resources in new ways. Indeed, one could argue, if one is talking about identity as emergent,

that every interaction or utterance in an interaction involves drawing creatively on any resource that is accessible, to respond to a previous utterance and to project forward to a future reaction. Bakhtin's notion of appropriation is relevant here. Bakhtin's overarching ideas are discussed in 4.5.3. Negotiating multiple identities could also be seen as an imaginative endeavour. Rampton's (2005) work on 'language crossing' amongst secondary school pupils provides an example of this creative use of communicative resources in the performance of identity negotiation.

In this study of an adult vocational classroom, I show how identities are emergent and involve drawing creatively on whatever resources are available, productive and potentially understandable to interlocutors. Funds of knowledge (Moll et al, 1992), drawn from local lifeworlds (Habermas, [1984] 1986) may be shared and made relevant to classroom topics, for example, being a parent, being an adult living in [name of city], adhering to a certain religion. Similarly, the shared institutional world of the Teaching Assistant work placement in primary school offers reference points as class participants make sense of the content of the vocational course curriculum.

The way that individuals might draw on their lived experiences depends on what they are responding to and how they want to present themselves to their addressee/s. Each individual responds differently and presents himself or herself differently according to his/her own aspirations, who they want most to make an impression on and how they want to be seen, in Goffman's (1959) conceptualisation. This resonates with Bakhtin's notion of answerability (1986:68, 84), that an utterance is always addressed to someone and is made in anticipation of

an answer. At the same time, employing different linguistic, generic and other semiotic resources creatively to bridge these worlds leads to greater involvement and the likelihood of forming a new shared professional identity with others in the same situation. De Fina's (2006) research on the construction of group identities through narrative-in-interaction is discussed in 4.6.3. The term 'creatively' is used here to refer to the idea of drawing on available resources in new ways.

Fifthly, for researchers into multilingual language and identity, looking through a post-structuralist/post-modern lens, narrative plays a particularly important role. This due to their emphasis on the tensions that arise from the 'fragmentation, decentering and shifting identities' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 18) in their account of negotiation of identities, especially in research which focuses on the lived experiences of transnational migrants. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argue that narrative provides a way of resolving the tension between past, present and future, and imposing coherence where there was none (ibid: 18). They are talking referring to autobiographical narrative while I am focusing mainly on 'small stories' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) and on the narrative fragments that the adult learners and their tutor share. These small stories also reveal ambiguities and tensions and index the negotiation of selfhood. I share the same view of identities as dynamic "with individuals continuously involved in production of selves [and] the positioning of others" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:9). It may also be that my participants are constantly revising their identity narratives and creating new ones "that valorise new modes of being and belonging" (ibid). They do this within two contexts: the story world (or what Wortham (2001)

calls the ‘narrated event’) and the interactional world (or ‘storytelling event’). This will be discussed further in the context of narrative-in-interaction in 4.6.

Finally, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) differentiate between different orders of identification. They offer a framework for analysing identification in their multilingual context, identifying three types of identities, namely: i) ‘imposed identities’ (which are non-negotiable at a particular time and place) and can be likened to the ones that the government might impose; ii) ‘assumed identities’ (which are accepted and not negotiated), and iii) negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals). The aim in analysis within Pavlenko and Blackledge’s (2004) framework is therefore to be on the alert for the way in which “positions are realised in particular instances of communication” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:163).

4.5.3 Bakhtinian perspectives

I will start by introducing Bakhtin’s overarching theory of *dialogism*, which I found to be a compelling way of increasing my understanding of the data at a meso level, by drawing together the wider and the local interactional context. This notion and his related ideas of *heteroglossia* and the *dynamic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces* together, have served as a focus for interpretations of the analyses of both chapter 6 and 7, brought together in the focusing discussion in chapter 8.

Holquist, translating Bakhtin’s work, explains how Bakhtin’s concept of *dialogism* can best be understood as ‘the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by

heteroglossia' in which "Everything is understood as a part of a greater whole", and where "there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others" (Holquist, 1981:426).

In relation to this, Bakhtin talks about a speaker looking back at the way others have voiced what is about to be said, and looking forward to how this will be taken by the listener. The subsequent utterance, or part thereof, will therefore consist of half someone else's voice, with a new 'take' by the speaker, for the benefit of the audience, or listener, be it inner or outer addressee. This looking back, i.e. to the word in the mouths of others, and looking forward in anticipation of the response, in the broadest sense, is what constitutes the notion of *dialogism* for Bakhtin. As he puts it:

The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented towards a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction. Formatting itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialogue. The orientation towards an answer is open, blatant and concrete (1981: 280).

The term *heteroglossia* [raznorečie] is central to Bakhtin's conceptualisation of *dialogism*. By 'heteroglossia', Bakhtin means "the interaction of two fundamental dimensions of communication, the mode, which is a more or less fixed system made up of repeatable features and the particular context in which the utterance is made", with the context being the more powerful as it can "refract, add to, or subtract from the amount and kind of meaning the utterance may be said to have when it is conceived only as a systematic manifestation independent of context" (Holquist, 1981: xx). Bakhtin refers to the natural move toward

heteroglossia as 'stratification' (1984:67). The ultimate result of stratification is fragmentation therefore there is usually at the same time a constant and determined effort made in the opposite direction towards unification.

Bakhtin argued that language in any moment in history is thus

"heteroglot, representing the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions of both present and past..." (1981:291).

What is interesting for my analysis of discursive classroom interaction is that, for Bakhtin, the moment of utterance is key to *dialogism* and *heteroglossia*. Other Bakhtinian ideas related to these two notions are discussed in chapter 6 and 7, then summarised in chapter 8.

Two theorists, who are associated closely with Bakhtin's conceptualisations of dialogism and heteroglossia, are referred to in chapter 6 and 7. One is Kristeva (1986), who coined the term 'intertextuality', referring to the way that all utterances form part of a 'chain of speech communication' and to the way in which previous texts are appropriated and adapted for new audiences and in new contexts. Another is Holland [1998] 2001), who exploited Bakhtin's 'dialogic' approach for her conceptualisation of identity construction.

Two other linguistic theorists who have developed Bakhtin's ideas and are more central to this study are discussed in separate sections. One is Wortham (2001), who uses Bakhtin's ideas in his framework for analysing identity in interaction. The other is Tannen (2007), whose research on constructed dialogue is developed from Bakhtin's ideas about reported speech.

In chapter 8, I summarise the main findings from the analysis by drawing together some ideas of Bakhtin's that arise out of his combined notions of *dialogism* and *heteroglossia*, namely 'voicing' and 'ventriloquation' in relation to the 'interanimation of voices', drawing on chapter 6, and the concept of 'appropriation' in relation to the 'dynamic tension of centrifugal and centripetal forces', drawing on chapter 7.

4.6 Narrative and identity

Labov's (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; 1981; 1997) model of narrative structure broke new ground because they identified structure in 'conversational' narrative, claiming that it was not haphazard or disorderly, defining narrative as "one verbal technique for recapitulating past events" (1967:13). The defining feature was temporal sequence, with chronological reference to so-called real world events. Labov (1972; 1981; 1997) later developed 5 units that made up a narrative, which he claimed could be identified as: abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, coda and evaluation. His early model was highly influential in all areas of narrative analysis and narratology and linguistic studies of storytelling, however, in recent years, it has also been challenged on various counts. One criticism was the way the model represented 'told' events, as referring directly to actual events in chronological order. Counter examples were identified in studies of storytelling. Realising that stories were not simply recounting of a chronology of events, he developed new criteria for assessing the extent of a story's success with the audience or interlocutors, namely, 'reportability, credibility, objectivity, causality and the assignment of praise and

blame' (1997:397). In identifying the personal investment made by the teller of a story, he acknowledged the importance of experience.

The strengths of Labov's model lie in the criteria for defining narrative with reference to two timeless organisational features, reaching back to Aristotle, namely, i) "the disruption of balance or change-of-state" and ii) "chronological ordering or even sequencing" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:34). It also brought together literary and colloquial story telling by identifying narrative structure in both literary and everyday narrative across cultures.

However, the model has been criticised for not taking into account, in any analysable way, the interactional elements of storytelling, despite his acknowledgement of the teller-recipient dynamic in later work. Later narrative analysis redressed this 'transmission' view by analysing the 'online unfolding of the story's telling' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:35). Moreover, because the stories in Labov's model were treated as extractable entities that could be compared to other similar stories elsewhere, no attention was paid to co-text, that is, the relations between the story and other utterances-prior utterances, neighbouring or following. Different Post - Labovian researchers analysing empirically- based narratives have addressed these problems by identifying various features, while recognising the value of the model as a benchmark against which to start looking at narrative. Some of these features of narratives became relevant to the analysis of the stories in my data. Like Georgakopoulou, (1997) for example, I realised that certain narrative units were missing in some conversational story events and like Norrick (1997), I recognised that the way a point was made in a story was heavily dependent on the situational and sociocultural context. The main thrust of the

criticism related to the static and canonical nature of the a priori structural units employed to analyse stories, a lack of awareness of context and a general Universalist approach, which did not align with the situated nature of experience and the recounting of it.

4.6.1 *Narrative as talk-in-interaction: perspectives from discursive psychology*

For CA analysts working within the discursive psychology tradition, narrative was embedded in such a way in everyday talk, that it was not detachable from the surrounding talk. In CA, the tellings of stories are “sequentially managed and unfold online and moment by moment in the here- and -now of interactions” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:44). A central tenet of CA was that conversation should be analysed from the point of view of the participants’ co-operative understandings and management of the talk they were involved in. No clear distinction could be made between the teller and the audience; stories were jointly constructed and ‘emerged’ from the talk. Because of this, “ a good part of [the] meaning is to be found in the occasion of [their] production, in the local state of affairs that was operative at that exact moment of interactional time” (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998:4).

For CA analysts, discourse markers of entry to and closure from particular types of stories were central to their research, for example, how tellers preface their stories in order to get them accepted by the recipients so that they can take the floor for an extended turn. Another interest was in how story tellers show how their story is relevant to the rest of the talk (Jefferson, 1978). I found these insights relevant to my data, especially when particular aspects of the storytelling could be interpreted in terms of relative position in the interaction.

However, for me, while CA analysts were good at identifying discourse markers and sequencing, their intention were confined to this, rather than looking at the significance in the light of relative relations of power, both in the interaction and the wider context. Moreover, their intention seemed to be to look for regularity rather than complexity and nuance, as microethnographers do (Bloome et al, 2005).

The work of Davies and Harré (1990) on positioning did, however, offer a means of taking account of the asymmetrical relations of power characterising interactions in institutional settings. In chapter 6, I look at the way that language resources are used, along with other semiotic resources, by the tutor to position herself vis-à-vis the class and to position the class participants. This is what Davies and Harré (1990:48) call ‘reflexive positioning’ and ‘interactional positioning’ respectively. I have been endeavouring to identify the linguistic and other resources that participants use to respond to particular positionings or to position themselves. I have also been trying to ascertain how these positions relate to identity, relationships of power and teaching and learning. In chapter 7, I look at the discourses underpinning the interactions and how the tutor mediates these for and with the students in different ways. However, in the very act of uttering, a position is inevitably taken up (Baynham, 2013). In doing so, there is always a risk involved (ibid). Power is negotiated and positions are to some extent always negotiable though this varies across contexts. Nevertheless, positioning is at the heart of this study.

Rather than looking at role as the basis for conceptualising ‘selfhood’ (in social psychological terms), which was the way that the proponents of the conventional dramaturgical model

conceptualised self, Davies and Harré (1990:43) developed a new, more dynamic, situated, concept of ‘positioning’ based on the assumption that language only exists “as concrete occasions of language in use”, (Davies and Harré, 1990:43). In this model, narrative was claimed to be the central resource in the production of the diverse selves that might pop up in the course of a conversation, or even in the course of an exchange of utterances. For Davies and Harré, conversation is the starting point for analysing ‘position’. Conversation is broadly defined as “a form of social interaction the products of which are also social, such as interpersonal relations” (1990:45).

Davies and Harré argue that the poststructuralist way of thinking “recognises both the constitutive force of discourse, (defined as ‘institutional use of language’) and particular discursive practices, and at the same time recognises that people are capable of exercising choice in relation to those practices, especially when those practices are contradictory” (1990: 46). Davies and Harré come to linguistic analysis from a Discursive Psychology background. Moreover, Bronwyn Davies developed her theory of positioning in the context of gender studies. Interdisciplinarity of this kind can bring different and interesting insights to the theory-building with regard to the discursive construction of identity.

In the following sections, I will outline how stance, alignment and positioning have been defined and researched by Baynham (2011) in the context of professional interviews. I will also look at the work of Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), particularly their notion of ‘small stories’. I will go on to examine Stanton Wortham’s (2001) framework for analysing identity in narrative-in- interaction and I will finally consider Deborah Tannen (2007)’s work on constructed dialogue. Here, I will focus on her claims about reported speech as a creative

resource for making meaning. All of these researchers have made particular points that have resonated with the lines of analysis I wish to pursue, although some of those I have cited have done empirical work in settings very different from my own.

4.6.2 *Stance, alignment and positioning in interviews*

Stance taking, from a sociolinguistic perspective, is defined by Jaffe (2009:3) as “taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one’s utterance”. She argues that the concept of stance is important because it serves as a productive link “between individual performance and social meaning” (ibid: 4), being concerned as it is with the “processes of indexicalization” (ibid). Dubois (2007) offers a more substantial definition of stance, which recognises a close connection between stance, positioning and alignment. He sees stance as:

“a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.” (2007:163)

Baynham (2011) uses Dubois’ conceptualisation of stance to examine the role of narrative in interviews. In this data set, ESOL teachers used different forms of narrative in interview settings, to reflect on their professional experience. Baynham analysed what he calls “the dynamic relationship between stance and discursive positioning” (2011:63), with particular reference to the role of performance in interviews.

Baynham demonstrated how, in the process of displaying and commenting on their professional practice, the ESOL teachers indexed their professional identities. As Baynham points out,

“in talk, two dimensions of stance tend to overlap, so that speakers are typically simultaneously orienting to the topic under discussion and to their co-participant in discourse” (2011:70).

This way of looking at stance as intricately interwoven with positionality and alignment, seems to resonate with Bakhtin’s conceptualisation of dialogism. At the point of utterance, the speaker takes a stance towards a topic already in circulation, in accordance with the way they want to align with their interlocutors.

This also resonates with what I found in my own data. The class participants, at the point of utterance, combined taking a stance towards a topic under discussion with positioning themselves in a particular way and in particular alignment with others.

4.6.3 *The development of a theory of small stories*

Complementary to Davies and Harré’s (1990) theory of positioning is Bamberg and Georgakopoulou’s (2008) theory on ‘small stories’ and the analytical framework associated with it. It was developed in direct opposition to the traditional ‘big story’ model (ibid: 378), used in autobiographical research on narrative and identity. They developed this theoretical framework because they felt that the non-elicited, conversational stories that they were researching had not been recognised for what they were and that the canonical model used in autobiographical research was not suited to the analysis of such stories.

Because I am looking as much at how identities emerge, shift and are negotiated within interaction, even while being continually shaped by circulating discourses in wider circles of government and society, I found that the ways in which Bamberg (1997a) conceptualised different levels of positioning particularly relevant to my investigation of identity. For Bamberg, (1997a, cited in De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:163), the “ways in which tellers ‘do’ self in narrative tellings” can be identified at three levels of positioning: i) ‘in the taleworld’, analysed in terms of “how the narrator is positioned as character in the story vis-à-vis the other characters in the world of the story”; ii) ‘in the interactional’ or telling world, which can be analysed in terms of how the narrator in the interactional world is positioned vis-à-vis the other interlocutors and iii) in the wider world, in which there are more stable but not entirely fixed identities (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:164). Baynham (2013) refers to the i and ii as ‘brought about’ interactionally and therefore contingent while iii, he refers to as ‘brought along’ to a situation, that is, built up over time and over events “above and beyond the current storytelling situation” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012:164). As Baynham (2013) argues, “there is a dynamic tension between the two types of identity positions” (ibid). With regard to this third type of identification, I should note that scholars such as Georgakopoulou are interested in identifying and exploring the textual/interactional features of ‘small stories’ that reveal how “telling roles make visible and are based on the participants’ larger social identities, standing vis-à-vis each other and relationships as close friends who share an interactional history” (Georgakopoulou, 2006:85). Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) elaborate on this idea. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) come to the conclusion that: “the issue is to what extent the construction of a sense of self in the

segment under analysis can be traced back to individual conversational moves and to what extent it depends on discourses that seemingly impose themselves onto participant structures and individual sense-making strategies” (Ibid:164). This framework for analysing the different types of identification at work in any narrative-in-interaction has been very influential for others taking an interactionally-oriented approach to identity and narrative. One of these researchers is Stanton Wortham. I will discuss his work in section 4.6.4

One aspect of Bamberg and Georgakopoulou’s (2008) framework that was interesting to me in my research on classroom talk was that they approached stories from a functional perspective, being concerned with what the stories were being used for by the individuals who told them. For them, “narratives are focused upon not as tools for reflecting on (chunks of) lives but as constructive means that are functional in the creation of characters in space and time, which in turn are instrumental for the creation of positions vis-à-vis co-conversationalists” (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008:379).

I was fascinated to find in my research data that many stories were being told in the course of the interactions. I was interested in finding out what roles or functions they played in the interaction and wider context of the classroom, the institution and beyond, so this perspective on narrative was particularly useful. Also relevant to me was the focus on ‘small stories’ which Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) defined as “brief” but also as “in keeping with the late modern focus on the micro, fleeting aspects of lived experience” (ibid:379).

Small stories, for Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), are not only reflections on past events but also about “very recent, unfolding, future or even hypothetical events” (2008:381). Moreover, they perform various roles in the discourse. For example, stories are used to support an argument, to explain something or they may have a more phatic function. As the data Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) draw on is informal conversation outside institutional settings, inevitably, their stories will not be the same as those told in institutional contexts, in terms of the kinds of stories they tell, the identities they construct and play out and the functions these stories have in the interaction. However, I found that small stories occurred within the educational context in my study, both between students and between tutor and students. I suggest that they are a salient aspect of the classroom discourse and of the teaching and learning taking place.

Two researchers using a similar narrative-in-interaction framework for analysing identity are De Fina (2006) and Baynham (2006). They have both done research relating to migration but focus on different aspects of identity. Their work will be briefly outlined below.

4.6.4 Narrative as a window on the representation of identities

In her work on group identification, from a post-structuralist perspective, De Fina (2006) problematizes the concept of identity and how this relates to membership in a community. Taking language as central to the construction and representation of identity, she argues that through narrative, “narrators build shared representations about who they are, by creating story-worlds in which identities are characterised in common ways and routinely related to specific actions or reactions” (De Fina, 2006:351). She argues that

“the analysis of how narrators build relationships between identities and actions affords us knowledge on the nature of group self-representations, because it allows the investigation of traits that are seen as salient in descriptions of self and others and of the consequences that category membership has for social action” (ibid).

Why this is important is because such knowledge can help us understand

“the repertoire of identities from which minorities and marginal groups draw in order to build images of themselves and their own interpretation and appropriation of mainstream labelling categories” (ibid:352).

This exploration of how group identity is built interactionally was fascinating to me and I thought it might cast a light on some of the exchanges that were taking place in the classroom in my study between the different interlocutors, and on how they saw themselves vis-à-vis the groups they were presenting themselves as being members of.

In Baynham’s (2006) work on Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement, he takes as given that identities are “things that people do”. To make the link between identities and discourse, Baynham (2006) adopts the term ‘speaking position’ “to account for the ways that identities are articulated in discourse” (Baynham, 2006:380). What he discovers is that there is a tension between “two types of narratives of migration: generic and personal, each implying different speaking positions with different issues of entitlement and rights and to speak” (ibid: 377). Baynham also describes the narratives as “involving comparisons and oppositions with present interlocutors and past identities” (ibid). Baynham (2006) argues that ‘narrative’ discourse “privileges identity work because of the central role of voices and speaking positions” involved in its construction (ibid: 396). Although my research is located in a different setting, carrying different entitlements and rights and different positions, I found

there were some interesting points of similarity between the two. I touch on entitlement to speak and how this is negotiated in the analysis of my data. Moreover, I was interested in how the generic and personal narratives in my data implied different positions, and how relationships between interlocutors' present and past selves were negotiated through the narratives in the course of the interactions.

4.6.5 *Narrative-in-interaction*

Wortham (2001) provides a practical framework for analysing identity in relation to positioning in both autobiographical narrative and in narrative-in-interaction. I will touch on some of the ideas and techniques that Wortham proposes and the extent to which I found them applicable to my investigation of the classroom discourse in my study and the construction of selves by the class participants in relation to each other, in the moment-by-moment unfolding of the interaction.

In analysing the narrative construction of self, Wortham (2001) focuses on positioning within two different events: the narrated event, in which the story takes place and the telling event, that is, the interaction in which the story is being told. Furthermore, in the narrated events, narrators position themselves in two ways: firstly, they position themselves by the way they refer to the events in which they participated. This can be analysed using techniques developed by Labov (Labov, 1972; Labov and Waletzky (1967), namely through reference and predication. The particular grammatical and lexical items that can be identified are outlined in my methodology chapter; secondly, narrators position themselves and other characters in the story in relation to recognisable groups of people, through the strategy of

‘voicing’. As Wortham (2001:38) puts it, “speaking with a voice...means using words that index some social position(s) because these words are characteristically used by members of a certain group”. Wortham is drawing here on Bakhtin’s (1981) ideas about ‘voice’ and ‘voicing’, which form part of the theory of heteroglossia.

“Cues for assigning ‘voice’ to a character range from ‘quoted speech’, sometimes with verbs of speaking (metapragmatic verbs), to ‘evaluative indexicals” (Wortham, 2001:37-40).

However, recognising a ‘voice’ depends on shared knowledge:

“what is indexical for one audience is not for another. Thus, sharing a cultural background is necessary for this kind of positioning to work effectively, rather the same way that Gumperz’s (1982a) contextualisation cues work culturally”.

As well as positioning themselves within the narrated event, narrators might also comment on it, what Labov and Waletzky (1967) called ‘evaluation’. This is done in the telling context, for the audience of the story. Bakhtin uses the term ‘ventriloquation’ to describe something similar to this but in a more complex way. Ventriloquation describes the way that someone might take on a voice and at the same time evaluate it, by agreeing with it or rejecting it, for instance. These are what Bakhtin (1984) refers to as uni-directional or vari-directional double-voicing. However, evaluation is often ambiguous or shifting.

Like other post-Labovian narrative analysts, Wortham (2001) does not take the narrative out of the context it is told in. The interview in which a narrative is told becomes an exchange in which both parties offer up aspects of themselves in response to the other, drawing on what is available and understandable to both of them, depending on their own lived histories.

Interviews can go very differently from conversations vis à-vis reference, voicing, ventriloquating and the availability and taking up of positions.

I found this kind of very detailed analysis of voice and ventriloquation, reference and predication, evaluative indexical, quotation and epistemic modalisation had considerable potential for my analysis of the way that the tutor in my study positioned herself and her co-participants in her narratives within the classroom interactions. I have therefore used Wortham's (2001) very concrete and accessible framework, partly based on Bakhtinian concepts, as a tool for analysing my own interactional data in terms of narrative and identity work. (See chapter 6 and 7 for examples of my analysis). There were differences between my setting and his however. One difference between my narrative data and his was that he was dealing primarily with narrative of self while I was dealing with emergent narrative identity in relation to interlocutors. For this reason, in my analysis, apart from the class participants presenting themselves in particular ways for each other, the purpose of the telling became salient. Elsewhere, for example, in Wortham (2005), Wortham analyses the building up of identity over time, within educational interactions. Another difference is that the autobiographical narratives Wortham was analysing were very long whereas the narratives in my classroom data were fragmentary and fleeting. I needed to try to capture the moment where identities shifted and how, as well as what identity work was being done. Nevertheless, the framework for analysis and the explanation of position that was given and applied was very useful and relevant, even if the contexts to which it was applied were slightly different.

4.6.6 *Constructed dialogue*

In autobiographical interviews, such as the ones that Wortham refers to in his 2001 volume, one imagines that both the interviewer and the interviewee are referring to a notion of ‘reality’ out there, even while the participants are presenting themselves in various discursive ways.

In the classroom discourse that I studied, narratives did not always need to have a direct referential link to the outside world. For example, if the story was being told to demonstrate a point in an argument, model a practice or to present oneself in a particular way for the benefit of the students’ learning, in the case of the tutor, (e.g. as survivor of negative school practices), dialogue might be imaginatively ‘constructed’ to build a scenario or relate to a hypothetical rather than an actual event. Tannen (2007) drew on Bakhtin’s ideas about reported speech and developed them to chart the different ways that narrators might actually create reported speech. I found this idea most intriguing and therefore looked for evidence of this when analysing the stories that my participants told. This practice of inventing quotation in order to voice particular identities seemed to echo the evoking of imaginative resources to produce or perform identities, as mentioned previously. However, as well as creating particular identities, the speakers seemed to be using quotations simultaneously for other educational purposes. This seemed to resonate with Bamberg’s and Georgakopoulou’s (2008) interest in the functional aspect of narrative telling mentioned above and helped explain the occurrence of narratives in the institutional context of education.

4.7 Mediation: talk, participation and learning

Because the study took place in an institutional context, namely, education, in which participants are typically positioned hierarchically, I wanted to consider briefly the kind of relationships that actually pertained in this particular educational context, which is somewhat different from both school and academic classrooms in terms of relationships of power. For this reason, in section 4.7.1, I consider how two different theorists discuss asymmetric interactions and how they relate to my study. Apart from looking at relations of power, I wanted to consider the kind of learning that was taking place in the light of relevant theory. Therefore, in section 4.7.2, I will therefore briefly touch on how learning has been theorised in terms of talk and participation and I will indicate why this is relevant to my study.

4.7.1 Asymmetric relations in the adult vocational classroom

Who ‘had’ more power and authority in an adult vocational classroom in the UK in 2009, the adult class participants or the teacher or both? Taking the verb ‘to have’ to signify being vested with power and authority, I would like to answer this question by saying: No-one ‘had’ it, the construction of power and authority was a dynamic process of negotiation.

I have decided that I need to discuss this question because I cannot ignore the fact that in an educational context, in a classroom, in a whole class interaction between tutor and students, the interaction is bound to be considered asymmetric and many would consider the tutor to be the holder of power and authority. In this regard, however, I would like to align myself with what Fairclough, (1992), Blommaert (2005) and others claim about power, based on Foucault

([1976]1990). Ultimately, power is not something that can be taken for granted. It has to be maintained and fought for: “Where there is power, there is resistance” (Foucault, [1976] 1990:95). Just as Bakhtin (1981) argues, centrifugal forces are constantly moving towards stratification and disunity and that centripetal forces have to be forever pulling back towards standardisation and unification. Even in a situation like a classroom, where the institution of education has bestowed power on one person over others to represent the position of the centre, where there is a kind of ‘imposed’ identity, of the kind described by Pavlenko and Blackledge, (2004), and where resources are deployed to maintain that centrality, class participants still want to pull the curriculum towards what they understand and know. This pulling and pushing can be identified in the way that the different participants take up positions in relation to the topic, to each other and to their group membership in other worlds.

According to various researchers who have previously written in this area, unequal power relations in interactions lead participants, particularly adults, to negotiate, with the ones in weaker positions responding in various ways according their private histories and goals. They might possibly agree and seek approval (Holmes et al, 1999), show signs of resistance (Heritage and Sefi, 1992) or may just respond, in their own agentive way, to achieve their own private goals. Meanwhile the ones in positions of power might look for linguistic as well as other ways of achieving their goals consensually. Holmes et al (1999:364) cites “weakening disagreement and trying to maintain good will, often through hedging devices”.

Similarly, the adults in the class in my study probably wanted to be helped by the tutor to ‘succeed’ that is, to gain access to accreditation, (otherwise they might have feasibly done the

NVQ workplace learning course, which involves independent learning, rather than taking this face-to-face course in college). However, they also expected their tutor to be engaging and to help them understand and learn. She needed to fulfil both these expectations to keep them there. All the time, Tess, the tutor was aware that she needed to persuade them to follow her, in discussing the ‘boring’ or ‘difficult’ topics, in doing paperwork related to the course and in writing the assignments. She also wanted to inspire them by stimulating and challenging them, that is, she saw herself as an enabler and transformer of lives. At the same time, as an FE tutor, she had a professional responsibility to help them pass the course as well as having a management obligation to gain high pass rates. This would provide evidence that she was a ‘successful’ teacher and also meeting the needs of the government, as discussed in chapter 2. She was in a position of institutional power but did not ‘have’ ultimate power over these adults. So she negotiated with them in order to achieve her goals.

To negotiate, she used redressive strategies (Harris, 2003), such as mitigation and politeness practices, to balance her institutional power in relation to her interlocutors, as do other professionals. One aspect of mitigation she used was self-deprecation. She also worked hard to engage the class participants through the use of conciliatory forms of talk such as ‘gentle humour, encouragement. Roberts and Sarangi (2001: 188) note that conciliatory talk was more successful in getting students to engage in the learning than the more didactic authoritarian style associated with traditional teaching. This is discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

4.7.2 *Dialogic teaching and learning*

One of the areas that I felt I needed to explore in this study was how LE could contribute to research into the links between language and learning and theory building. In the educational climate existing at the time of my study (2009), both in the ‘early years’ sector, where CACHE is located, and in Further Education in general, the neo-Vygotskian notion of ‘dialogue’, incorporating scaffolding, was generally considered to be central to learning (Wood, 1998; Mercer, 1995). Trainee teachers in contexts ranging from early years to further education were taught about the notion of the Zone of Approximate Development (ZPD) and how to scaffold the learning in their context.

For Vygotskian proponents, who base their ideas on Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of mediated learning, “dialogues between people in classrooms provide key mediating communicative patterns which constitute tools for action, thinking and feeling” (Maybin, 2003:6). Techniques such as questioning, two way recasting, co-construction of knowledge (Mercer, 1995), talk around text and even narrative could all be considered part of dialogic teaching and learning, if understood and practised according to dialogic principles.

Some forms of questioning such as Socratic questioning have been criticised, for example, by Petty (2004), for reinforcing the tutor’s power and status over the students and focusing attention on the tutor’s teaching rather than student’s learning. Recasting could also be seen as reproducing dominant discourse at the expense of encouraging local voices. While this might be true in some contexts, especially with children, I found, in my study, that recasting went both ways, towards the centre and towards the periphery (in Bakhtin’s (1981) terms), from

educational to colloquial discourse as well as from colloquial to educationally legitimate discourse. I would argue that questioning was used to encourage critical thinking about the student's own understanding of their work placement rather than a technique for moving towards an answer that the tutor already knew. I analyse and discuss the use of questioning in the classroom in my study in chapter 7.

Maybin (2003) criticised the narrow view of context taken by neo-Vygotskian researchers when employing notions such as dialogue, ZPD and Scaffolding. In the 2003 Linguistic Ethnography Forum colloquium on the interface between LE and education, Maybin claimed that researchers in this tradition "focused on the cognitive aspects of these dialogues and neglected the social and affective aspects, the sociocultural dimensions of language and literacy events, and the wider cultural context which weaves activity together in the classroom" (Maybin 2003:6). She therefore argued for the role that LE could play in widening the concept of context of Vygotskian studies of talk and learning. She asserted that

"Linguistic ethnography can contribute to documenting and developing our understanding of these other dimensions and help to provide a richer account of children's language and learning in school" (ibid:6).

She stated that this could be done by employing ethnographic methods for documenting sociocultural and affective dimensions and fine grained discourse analysis. In addition, she noted that the discourse analysis could be of more than one type.

Lastly, she claimed that LE could contribute to "building a theoretical framework which can connect detailed analysis of language use in particular contexts with a more macro-level

sociology discourse” (ibid: 6). Her suggestion included: thinking more in terms of Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of ‘legitimate language’ and ‘symbolic domination’, or considering “how social class is both reproduced and problematized through stylisation” (ibid:6), as in Rampton’s (2005) ethnographic/ discourse analysis of stylisation in adolescent talk. She argued that LE could also take Vygotskian theory further by problematizing notions that have been reified or previously taken as homogeneous, such as ‘family’, ‘work’ and ‘school’.

I would argue that LE can do the same for research into adult vocational learning in FE, whether focusing on the tutor’s mediation of the learning or the students’ own use of language in supporting their learning. By drawing on different analytical frameworks, both ethnographic and linguistic, I have been able to track both the emotional and sociocultural dimensions of the classroom talk audio-recorded in my study and link this to the wider context of current educational discourse or anxieties around new technology.

4.8 Concluding remarks

It will be clear that my analytical work in the study has been somewhat eclectic while falling broadly within a post-structuralist/post-modern tradition of research. However, I would concur with Rampton et al (2002) that eclecticism can be productive. As they put it:

“there is a lot of scope for interaction between Ethnography of Communication, Conversation Analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar and they offer more to the analysis of classroom discourse in combination than they do alone” (2002:387).

In this chapter I have covered a good deal of theoretical and empirical ground in trying to review some of the debates in the field and my responses to them. I first considered the approaches that oriented my thinking at the start of the study and then I showed how I developed my position in relation to later reading and my own analysis of the data. In the course of the research process, from participant observation, through audio recording, transcription and analysis and interpretation, I adopted an approach to reading and thinking that involved moving in and out of the data analysis as I gained more insight into what was going on and as I resolved to explore in further detail. I have tried to consider literature that helped me answer my research questions while trying to critically consider any limitations that the theories and frameworks might have and to assess these in terms of my own research context.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODS

5.1 Introduction

The literature review in Chapters 3 and 4 delineate the theoretical and epistemological context within which this methodology is situated and from which it stems. As I indicated in Chapter 3, the approach adopted in this study was a Linguistic Ethnography of classroom interaction, involving a combination of ethnography and close linguistic analysis of classroom talk in interaction.

In the first section of this chapter, I will present the rationale for choosing this research design. I consider how it fits into the theoretical framework reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4, and into my own epistemological position and the particular educational setting for this study. In the subsequent sections, the particular methods for data collection and analysis will be discussed and issues raised, in accordance with the approach taken to the research.

5.2 Adopting an appropriate research design

5.2.1 *Epistemological position of the researcher:*

This research was situated within a broadly interpretative/poststructuralist paradigm. This orientation in my research arises out of my identity as a researcher in relation to the research setting. As Rampton (1992:30-33) mentions in his article on the development of Linguistic Ethnography, it is common for researchers from language teaching backgrounds to enter research late in order to “find a way of adequately rendering quite extensive personal

experience”. In this context, rather than adopting the contrastive cultural approach described by Hymes (1996:6), I needed to take an approach that went from the inside out. This approach has been discussed by a number of researchers. Agar (1996) described it as aiming ‘to render the familiar strange’. In the actual research process, the analysis of a particular event involves both ‘getting close’ to the event to understand it from an emic insider position and ‘stepping back’ to gain an etic outsider perspective. In my classroom observation and analysis, my insider position as a participant observer and member of the college staff with knowledge and personal experience of helping students on this course in previous years, gave me access to members’ lived experiences of the event, allowing me to conduct a microanalysis; meanwhile, my outsider position, not being an actual member or tutor of the class, allowed me to look at the event from a distance. Furthermore, in relation to my identity as a researcher, I agree with Davies (1989:139) when she says ‘Poststructuralist thought allows me to recognise the multiple discourses in which I participate and to see myself differently constituted through each of them.It allows me to see fully ...the extent of my entrapment in known discourses’.

Given the methodological and epistemological issues discussed above, I opted to undertake a single case study, which would draw on the principles of Linguistic Ethnography and which would be located within a broadly interpretive, poststructuralist research design. Different research methods were selected to address different research questions.

5.2.2 *Rationale for choosing a case study design*

The actual design chosen for this research study was a mixed method single case study (Day-Ashley, 2007, following Platt, 1992). As indicated in chapter 1, the case was an adult vocational classroom and the unit of study was the interaction between the adult learners and the tutor.

The reasons for choosing a case study rather than any other research design were as follows:

i) the purpose of the study; ii) the type of data to be investigated; iii) the research questions; iv) the underpinning theoretical approach and v) the type of research to be undertaken.

i) *The purpose of the study:* Because of the interpretive nature of the research project, in which adult vocational education experience was explored, described and explained from the point of view of the participants in interaction, a flexible ‘qualitative’ design was chosen. This allowed for questions and focus to emerge and develop during the data collection and analysis. This approach contrasts with a quantitative design that is tightly pre-specified, with preparation and design taking place before data collection and analysis afterwards.

ii) *The type of data to be investigated:* A case study involves focusing on in-depth analysis of a single or multiple studies, using data from multi-data sources (Yin, 1994). The data investigated in this case study was drawn from a variety of sources related to adult vocational classroom interaction in order to obtain as thick an ethnographic description as possible (Geertz, 1973) within the constraints of the project. This included primary field data such as classroom interaction data, interview data, and other ethnographic data included in

field notes such as comments, diagrams and informal communication. It also included secondary data, namely, documents relating to the course, the institution and governmental policy. The data collected was therefore empirical, relating to real life sources. It was also contemporary because the data was collected in 2009 and within its own life context, that is, situated within a particular context rather than being abstracted from it, as a laboratory experiment might be. As Yin (1994) asserts, case study research is generally developed out of “a desire to understand complex, social phenomena”

iii) *The research questions:* The design of a research project is guided by the nature of the research questions that are addressed. In interpretive, qualitative research designs, open research questions that ask ‘how’ and ‘why’ particular phenomena occur are appropriate. The main research questions guiding the design of the study and the main data sources used to address these questions are outlined below in Table 2.

Table 1: Overarching research questions and data sources

Research Questions	Interview recorded Data	Classroom interaction recorded data	Fieldnotes	Documentary evidence
1. What were the salient aspects of the content of the CACHE Level 2 course in this study in terms of topics and underpinning discourses?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Government policy documents; empirical research documents; course documents
2. Within the classroom, how did the tutor mediate this content with and for the class participants?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Texts: National Curriculum; CACHE handbook, Reference textbooks, Teachers TC
3. How did the tutor and the class participants negotiate classroom identities and relationships in this specific further education context?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Research documents

iv) *The underpinning theoretical approach:* One compelling reason for choosing a case study over other methodologies and for being a participant observer is that it is a holistic approach, which incorporates both the context and the events, the multiple data sets being the key to gaining full access to the context. Adopting a linguistic ethnographic approach, as I do, which takes face-to-face interaction as being inevitably situated within a particular time and place, a methodology which did not take context into account would be incompatible with this approach. It is important to reiterate here that the context is understood as being constantly under construction rather than pre-ordained. Although the institution in this study had structure, timetables, curricula, educational spaces and so on, the nature of the classroom interaction was not fixed but contingent on the people, the place, the time and so on. It was fluid and relatively unpredictable. Because it is strongly influenced by interaction-oriented ethnography of communication and micro-ethnography (e.g. Erickson, 1986; Gumperz, 1982a and Hymes, 1972c) , Linguistic Ethnography, “can trace the ways in which social relations, positions and identities are constructed and contested online from one moment to the next” (Rampton, 2002: 387) puts it: there is a lot of scope for interaction between EC, CA and SFG and they offer more to the analysis of classroom discourse in combination than they do alone”

v) *The type of research to be undertaken:* One reason why single qualitative case studies are chosen for doctoral research is because they are manageable in terms of resources, especially time, money and personnel. This was also one of my reasons for choosing a single case study. Conducting multiple case studies would have required more resources and would have been outside the realms of possibility.

Moreover, because of the discourse analytical focus, which involved in-depth ethnographic and linguistic analysis of classroom interaction data, there was more scope within a single qualitative case study, in an adult vocational classroom, with a small number of participants and timeframe, to provide a rich description of the context.

5.3. Building a research strategy

5.3.1 *Gaining access*

As I indicated in Chapter 1, the main focus of my study was on an adult vocational classroom in the Further Education College where I worked. I was interested in how the tutor's and students' experiences of teaching and learning were shaped by the policies of the college in relation to government legislation and initiatives in this area. I was also interested in the communicative resources that the tutor and students brought to the teaching and learning to mediate, negotiate and make meaning for themselves in order to fulfil their own goals. My choice was informed partly by my own experience as an EFL/ESL teaching professional in Further Education and as someone interested in equality and diversity. As an applied linguist, I was also interested in discovering how language is used in a particular context: a) as a tool for learning, b) as a resource for building classroom relations and identities, c) as a means of practising and developing language capabilities. I knew that the vocational courses attracted a wide variety of students from diverse backgrounds, minority heritage backgrounds, socially diverse backgrounds and adults with mixed experiences of education. Another interesting aspect of this course was that the students were nearly all female. I also knew that the course was specifically directed to adults aged 19 and above, that most of them did not have prior

qualifications at Level 2 and that they were therefore eligible for funding.² This adult vocational class (CACHE Teaching Assistant training course, Level 2) attracted such students, due to the work opportunities in this area. I chose a level 2 course (equivalent to GCSE), as it was deemed by the government of the time to be the minimum level necessary to access the workplace.

I contacted Tess, who was a vocational tutor who had previously sent students to me for language support, and asked if I might observe her class and perhaps interview some of her students about their experience. She was interested in having me there due to her interest in language. Thus, with her agreement, I conducted two brief preliminary studies (2 sessions and 2 interviews) over two years (2007 and 2008), focusing on the same course with the same tutor but with two different cohorts of students. In 2009, she agreed to my conducting a full doctoral research project with her and her class, if they agreed.

In 2009 as usual, Tess had a diverse range of students in her class, from a wide variety of linguistic, educational and social backgrounds. She said she was happy for me both to observe her class throughout the year and that she was willing to take part in interviews. When I had interviewed her previously, she had told me of her interest in and experience of teaching students from different educational, language and cultural backgrounds. (Email and face to face communication, 2008). From this contact, from informal exchanges with her and her subsequent interviews with me as part of my main project in 2009, I learned more about her

² The funding for these courses has changed since the research took place. In 2010, the Level 2 funding disappeared to be replaced with a focus on apprenticeships into such professions as teaching assistants, with workplace assessment of competence taking the place of classroom learning teaching and learning.

interest in students from diverse backgrounds and about her experience as a teacher over many years, in areas where there were high proportions of students from different social, cultural and language backgrounds, and often in areas where there were high proportions of 'vulnerable' students of British heritage background. This background experience seemed to account for her willingness to accommodate me throughout my research and I am indebted to her for allowing this to happen. The generous nature of her offer to base my study in her class and the difficulties that occurred initially when trying to access the classroom to conduct the research demonstrated to me the complexity of issues relating to access and reminded me that access is based on careful relationship building.

5.3.2 *Selection of key participants*

There were 13 students in the class altogether, from diverse social, geographical and educational backgrounds. All the students were female apart from one. There were two students with a Bangladeshi heritage and one with Iranian heritage. The rest of the class were from diverse British educational, social and geographical backgrounds. Because one of my initial interests was in exploring the lived classroom experience of bilingual students in a monolingual English adult vocational classroom, the tutor introduced me to the three bilingual students so that I could explain my research and see if they might be willing to take part. They all showed a keen interest in both me and my research so I asked if they would like to be key participants, making sure that they did not feel they had to. I would have been content to have two out of the three as key participants, or would even have settled for one. All three said they would be very interested in taking part.

I later moved on from this decision to investigate bilingual students' experience to an investigation of the classroom as a whole and the linguistic interaction within it and so I worked with a range of students from diverse backgrounds due to a desire not to stereotype or adopt a 'large culture', essentialist, normative approach. Following Holliday's definition of culture, I chose a 'small culture' approach, (Holliday, 1999) to fit in with the epistemology I espoused, which advocated a non-essentialist, interpretive, processual approach to research where culture is seen as being related to 'cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping' (Holliday, 1999: 241), in this case the CACHE Teaching Assistant class. Moreover, to gain as full a picture of the classroom situation as I could, I wanted to explore a diverse selection of students' lived experiences. I was interested in the different ways that the students and tutor managed the whole classroom interactions. I therefore approached the class as a 'community of practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991), taking account of both the students' vocational goals as teaching assistants and adult vocational students in a Further Education college in the UK in 2009. I wanted to identify similarity as well as difference between the students. I wanted to establish whether students on the same course had similar or different goals relating to the course and to their futures and whether they followed similar or different routes to achieve these, from whatever background they came and in addition, I wanted to know whether the interaction might reveal insights into the positions they took in relation to each other and the tutor and if so, how.

For this reason, I asked all adult members of the class who would be willing to volunteer to be key participants in the research. Apart from the recording of the whole class, I explained to everyone what being a key participant would involve, namely, to be willing to have at least

two informal interviews (which I later called informal ‘chats’ because the word ‘interview’ produced nervous comments from the participants). One interview was conducted near the beginning of the course and the second near the end, subject to their convenience. In addition, I indicated that I would like to arrange to have their tutorials recorded. In the final analysis, neither the tutorials nor the group work recordings sessions were used, due to time restraints.

Apart from those who had already agreed to be part of the research, three more volunteered at the beginning and a further two joined in and offered me an extended interview about the whole course near the end. One of these was the only man, (known in this study as Toby). This interview with Toby meant that I could capture the whole range of views and experiences and counteract any gendered interpretations I may have made. I recruited eight key student participants in total. (For details of these key participants, see Appendix 2). I also talked to other members of the class informally and recorded all the class participants in interaction with and without the tutor. Another key participant in my research was, of course, the tutor herself. She had a role as an ‘old timer’ while the students were ‘newcomers’ and apprentice teaching assistants as Lave and Wenger (1991:29) have noted. “Learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and... the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the socio-cultural practices of a community”

5.3.3 Building a relationship with the participants

In exchange for her offer of access to the class, I understood that I would offer language support to any students who wanted this but particularly to the students who used English as an Additional language. The English heritage students were reticent with me at the start while

one of the Bangladeshi heritage students (known as Mandi) and the Iranian heritage student (known as Ined) were very keen to talk to me casually, in the breaks and at the end of the lessons. The other student of Bangladeshi heritage (known as Raj) was very shy with me and did not approach me for quite a long time. However, she did eventually come and ask me for help with the English for an assignment.

The tutor talked to me frequently in the breaks, answering my questions and explaining changes to the lesson plans she had given me, offering me the course handbook and the curriculum and she sometimes referred to me as a language specialist during the lessons. In our informal conversations in the breaks, when the students were elsewhere, we discussed issues emerging during the lessons. These included the dominance of the one student (Amy), the on-going illness of another affecting her attendance (known as Katrina), the difficulties the male student (Toby) had had in his childhood and the value of being in a class like this where students from such diverse backgrounds had to collaborate in tasks. The conversations never deteriorated into a gossip session and we were both aware of our commitment to confidentiality and equality. These conversations were not audio recorded as I felt it would intrude on the informality of the interactions but they were often noted in field notes.

I spent 14 sessions with the class over the course of the academic year, mainly between January and May, due to my work timetable. (See Table 3 below for details of sessions attended and topics covered). In order to get to know the students better and gain their trust, I had coffee with them in the canteen. I also stayed in the class at break sometimes to chat to those who did not want to go out. These interactions were also not recorded as I felt they were

‘off the record’ and recording them would have been intrusive and broken their trust. They accepted that I was recording the normal classroom interactions and had given consent. They had not agreed to me recording them in casual conversation outside of lesson time, except for in interviews so I respected this and for this reason, I can only give general ideas of what was talked about informally. They talked about their work placements and their families mainly but occasionally about promotions and offers that they had found, gifts that one had to give away from her other job. I learned about their present work roles, for example, ‘dinner ladies’ (their term), office administrator, pharmacy assistant, voluntary teaching assistant. I learned about their children, some with special needs, some with difficulties at school, some perceived as being naughty. Indeed, helping their own children and enjoying working with children were given as the main two reasons for doing the Teaching Assistant course. This kind of casual interaction, the tutor told me, helped them relax with me, which we both felt was important.

It appeared that not all of them felt completely at ease though. One student asked why I wanted to record them doing group work and was very reticent. I tried not to include her in my recording if possible but I am not sure that that helped much either. She was not one of my key participants so I tried to explain my interest in language and language in the context of use and assured her of confidentiality, that she could ask that her contributions be edited out. Some students were friendlier than others, for reasons of their own and I talked to some students more than others.

5.4 Research ethics

The British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the British Association Applied Linguists (BAAL) both have guidelines on how to conduct social science research ethically, with BERA (2004) focusing on educational research and BAAL (2006) focusing on Applied Linguistics research. Throughout the research process, presented in this thesis, which falls both within the fields of Education and Applied Linguistics, I have therefore followed both sets of guidelines. I have also taken account of debates within the Applied Linguistics community to work out my stance on the issue of the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Links to both sets of guidelines on the BERA and BAAL websites are included in the References.

5.4.1 *Institutional guidelines*

The University of Birmingham Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research that I followed are based on BERA (2004). They cover harm to vulnerable parties, exploitation of parties, voluntary informed consent of subjects (including rights to withdraw), incentives and privacy. If problems of this sort arise in a research project, they might have negative effects for future research in terms of access, trust and quality. I was therefore very careful to fulfil my obligations in this regard. In fact, there had been an issue in some local Further Education (FE) colleges due to recent university-sponsored research into the culture of FE. FE staff had reacted to the overexposure to researchers from universities who had been observing classes without communicating with some of the vocational tutors in advance (personal communication with FE tutors during the access process). Having become aware of this and

having had difficulty accessing a classroom as a result of this, I was keen to build a relationship based on respect with both tutor and students.

I ensured that the privacy of the subjects was not violated in any way at any time during the research process by ensuring anonymity through changing the names of the participants and deleting the name of the college and location. I also ensured privacy by obtaining voluntary informed consent from the participants. I did this in gradual stages: I asked the tutor, Tess, if she would take part in the project over the year and she said she would. In the first session of the course, she then explained the project and asked her class if they would be interested in taking part and they said they would. In the second session, she introduced me and I explained as extensively as was possible what the project was about and what I would like to do in terms of recording and interviews. I also asked for volunteers for the interviews, explaining that they had the right to withdraw or request that data was deleted at any stage. Volunteers informed the tutor at the end of the session, to preserve privacy and make volunteering less of a public act. The video recording involved obtaining further consents and ensuring that no-one took part who had requested not to. I return to this point below.

The BAAL guidelines for good practice in Applied Linguistics research include basic ethical guidelines but also go further towards envisaging a more democratic relationship between researcher and researched. For example, BAAL recommends ‘balanced participation’, meaning that the researcher needs to ensure they do not align with one party’s interests over another, especially in research where (a) “participants have a significant degree of control over the research process, and (b) the political stakes are quite high” (BAAL, 2006:6). I tried

to gain balanced participation with the tutor and with the participants while in the classroom. In reality, I probably had a better relationship with the key participants than with the rest of the class, though I did make an effort to speak to them all informally in the breaks as well as having a chat in some of the group work activities. In this way, I definitely did not see myself as aligning with any one party's interests over another.

For researchers operating within a positivist paradigm, the main aim is to avoid interference, which for them, introduces bias through the observer's paradox. For researchers such as myself, operating within an interpretive paradigm, there is no such thing as objectivity. Nevertheless, the observer's paradox still presents a challenge. By engaging in participant observation over a long period of time so that participants get to know you and by working 'with' participants rather than just 'on' them, the effects of the observer's paradox can be diminished though the participants' behaviour is bound to be different in the researcher's presence. Orienting towards the agendas and the interpretations of the participants can be another way of minimising the observer's paradox. In my research project, the video recording that I did, with the assistance of a media studies student affected the behaviour of the adult learners and the tutor, even though there was ample preparation. In this case, the observer's paradox did have an effect and so, for this reason, it was less than successful. I will return to this point later.

5.4.2 *Reflexivity: Debates about the researcher/researched relationship*

While the standard guidelines on research ethics mention the sine qua non of what is known as 'ethical' research, that is, research 'on' subjects, over the last two decades, researchers in

linguistics have chosen to take their commitment further, adopting a relationship of ‘advocacy’ ‘for’ their subjects or even a relationship of ‘empowerment’, by becoming co-participants with the research subjects within the research context, (Cameron et al, 1992:13). I view myself as broadly assuming an advocacy position with regard to the research subjects, arising from my role within the institution. I also endeavoured to move towards a relationship of empowerment in as far as was possible within the constraints of the situation as I will show below.

Cameron et al (1992) identify three positions that social researchers take regarding the relationship between the researched and the researcher: i) Traditional ‘ethical’ research, (or research ‘on’ social subjects), by BERA, for example, for use in educational research; ii) Advocacy, which is, roughly, research ‘on’ and ‘for’ research subjects. This was the position taken by early variationist sociolinguists, as proposed Labov (1982); iii) A more dialogic position, which involves working ‘with’ the research subjects, as co-researchers. This is the position most commonly assumed in post-structuralist/post-modern research. I will discuss these three positions below and locate myself within them.

To consider to what extent I took an advocacy role, I will refer to how this is defined by Cameron et al (1992:15). “An advocacy position is characterised by a commitment on the part of the researcher, not just to do research on subjects but research on and for subjects” Such a researcher “is asked to use her skills or her authority as an ‘expert’ to defend subjects’ interests” (Ibid). She would do this by supporting campaigns and speaking up on behalf of her research subjects with regards to rights and so on. Taking a position of ‘advocacy’ was

considered positive and possibly sometimes a requirement for taking part in research, “both in payment of the debt and to correct an untruth or error” (Labov, 1982).

As indicated above, I did see myself as having an advocacy role, to an extent. For example, I took the side of the participants in dealing with the college administration and systems when required and in talking to the tutor on behalf of one of the students, when she was worried about not getting a work placement. Partly, I did feel that I owed it to the class ‘for taking part’ and partly it stemmed from my role as language development tutor in the same college. However, in my institutional role, I also aimed to empower the students whenever I could by working with them rather than just speaking or acting on their behalf, for example, by helping some of them to access learning and language development support outside the class and by helping them to access and navigate the assessment tests at the beginning of the course. Some of the support was suggested by the tutor and some instigated by the students themselves. All of it was informal and emerged within the situation. I would say therefore that I was working both on their behalf and with them, to use the terms of engagement specified by Cameron et al (1992).

Three key issues that are raised in relation to having a relationship of empowerment are a) the use of interactive methods, b) the importance of subjects’ own agendas and c) the question of feedback and the sharing of knowledge. Linked to these are three maxims for good practice, which are offered for those who consider themselves to be conducting empowering research, all of which are relevant to my research project: A) ‘Persons are not objects and should not be

treated as objects' therefore more interactive methods of conducting research are required. (Cameron et al,1992:23).

My research interviews were all designed to be interactive and dialogic. The strategy I used was to present the interviews as 'chats' about topics, which they could comment on or not. I also presented open topics rather than questions and personal contributions were positively encouraged. This did mean that some of the findings were uneven as some had more to say than others.

However, my known role as college tutor and my status of 'researcher' with a research agenda made it difficult to always achieve the stance of working 'with' participants. One strategy I adopted to try and make the relationship more equal was to emphasise my 'student' researcher status in the interviews and recording of data, playing down my role as researcher and tutor for the adult learners. The role of 'researcher' seemed alien to most of them, apart from one, who had taken part in some university research before and joked about compensation. The strategy of presenting myself as a student put me in a somewhat similar position to them, which some of them found more empathic and less distancing. It also demystified the research process to some extent, as did my explanations of my project at the start. Moreover, active co-operation was sought at all stages.

With regard to the importance of the subjects' own agendas, (Cameron et al (1992) had the following to say: "subjects have their own agendas and research should address them" (Cameron et al, 1992:133). As far as possible, within the constraints of the project, I did take

into account the informants' own agendas. For example, reluctance to participate in the video was respected in my research study and an offer of an interview at a later date rather than the original one was accepted. Also, I allowed the participants to voice their own agendas as far as was possible, while trying to get some idea of how they felt about the course for the project. There was, however, one student who had agendas that I could not comply with. Ined wanted to audio record the classes on her laptop and asked me to get permission for her. I said I could only ask but could not necessarily gain permission. In fact, it ensued that permission was first grudgingly granted then withheld when the rest of the class reacted against it.

The third issue raised by Cameron et al (1992) relates to feedback and the sharing of knowledge: "if knowledge is worth having, it is worth sharing" (Cameron et al, 1992:134). In different settings feedback of different sorts is expected but not all knowledge is sharable. I am not sure that the information generated by my research project could have been easily shared though I did try, as mentioned above. However, I did try to demystify the process of my research as it unfolded and maintained a stance of openness.

As discussed above in relation to the BAAL guidelines, sharing of knowledge involves feeding back results to participants at the end of a project and inviting them to comment: "Wherever possible, final project reports should be made available in an accessible form to informants and informants should have the right to comment on them" (BAAL, 2006:5). For me, it involved feeding back to the participants some of what I had found at the analysis stage so that they could share the interpretative process. In my research, in the second interview, I took back excerpts from stories they had told each other. Some researchers (Chilton, 2012;

Majer, 2007) have sent back reports of their doctoral projects to the participants to read and check on interpretations but this can prove problematic as it assumes that participants will be comfortable with reading and feeding back to the researcher. Tess wanted me to feedback on her teaching, 'so that I can improve' but I have been unwilling to do the kind of evaluative feedback she requested. I do however intend to send back some kind of report in the coming months.

There is no easy method of conducting research with people but if this is what one wants to do, building and maintaining a relationship of trust and openness is crucial. The minimum is to comply with ethical guidelines, advocacy goes a step further and requires a certain political commitment and an empowering relationship involves ethics, advocacy and reflexivity, interactivity and a negotiation of agendas, which is hard to achieve within the constraints of many research settings and may not even be appropriate in terms of the research aims.

5.5 Data collection strategies and the phases of the research

The classroom observation and recordings were carried out over 3 years. Following the strategy adopted by Day- Ashley (2007), I decided to carry out my observations and do other ethnographic data collection in phases. I did this in order to immerse myself in the classroom in the role of researcher. In doing so, I sought to understand the type of classroom interactions that took place and also to develop consistent strategies for writing field notes, recording and conducting interviews. In the first phase, I was interested in considering how my presence would affect the students and tutor behaviour, how easy it would be to get physically close to

the adult learners and tutor to record, how much of the session I could record in field notes and so on. Because my role as a researcher was central to the process of research, I reflected on each stage of the research, as seen below. This reflection is based partly on field notes taken at the time and partly on my reflections after the event, and in the light of subsequent action and feedback from adult learners and tutor.

5.5.1 Phase 1: preliminary studies

In phase 1, I conducted two preliminary ethnographic studies of the CACHE Teaching Assistant Course Level 2 classes, over two years, with a first study in 2007 and a second in 2008. In these two pilot studies, the tutor, Tess, remained the same but the cohort of students changed. This was the same CACHE Teaching Assistant course where my main data collection phase would later be based, with the same tutor, but with a third cohort of students. The classroom itself changed in 2008 for the second pilot study and the main study.

Pilot study 1: In 2007, I conducted a preliminary ethnographic case study over 2 sessions. The main aim of this study was to get to know the Early Years Education setting and the CACHE Teaching Assistant course structure. I had worked on a Business Administration course previously and knew their course structure and classroom practices but wanted another subject area to compare this to. A secondary aim was to practise doing field notes and semi structured interviews. No recording was made during this time but two ethnographic interviews were conducted with students in the class to find out about their experience of the sessions and the course. At this stage, I was only interested in bilingual students as participants.

Pilot study 2: In 2008, I conducted another small scale ethnographic study to practise using an audio recorder in the context of an adult vocational classroom, with the same tutor and on the same course but with different students.

5.5.2 Phase 2: The main data collection

In January 2009, with the same tutor, on the same course but with another year group, I started collecting classroom interaction data for the doctoral project. I collected data whenever I could, over the period of the course, amounting to 14 sessions (approximately 40 hours in total), within the constraints of the institution and my own work timetable. The data collected over this period included audio recordings, video recording, semi-structured interviews with key participants near the beginning and end of the course, audio-recordings of tutorial sessions and the writing of field notes, observations, drawing of diagrams, informal talk with students and tutor. I also collected documents and other resources from the tutor relating to the course and the classroom activities. These included the scheme of work, lesson plans, teaching materials, the CACHE handbook, the National Curriculum TA textbooks, Teachers' TV programmes, websites and so on (see Table 3 below).

Table 2: Timetable for CACHE Certificate for Teaching Assistants 2

<i>Session No + Date</i>	<i>Topic covered</i>	<i>Whether Attended</i>	<i>Homework</i>
1. 13/01/09	College Induction	x	
2. 20/01/09	UNIT ONE LRC Induction. School Structure. Intro. To planning	x	Investigate planning in school
3. 27/01/09	Planning. National Curriculum	✓	Look at N. Curriculum
4. 03/02/09	National Literacy Strategy	✓	Look at NLS
5. 10/02/09	Assignment guidelines. Planning practice. Differentiation	✓	Find out about class plans
17/02/09 <i>Half Term</i>			
6. 24/02/09	Factors influencing learning. NC English Pedagogy: reading+ planning reading activity for Assignment 1	✓	Do phonics plan
7. 03/03/09	Speaking & Listening. Planning S&L activity	✓	Do S&L plan
8. 10/03/09	NC English Pedagogy: writing + planning writing activity for Assignment One	✓	Do writing plan
9. 17/03/09	NC –using ICT+ planning activity using ICT	✓	Do ICT plan
10. 24/03/09	Planning an activity using ICT	x	
11. 31/03/09	NC Maths Pedagogy: Measuring, approximation + planning measuring activity for Assignment One	✓	ICT/ Maths plan. Hand in first draft literacy
7 & 14/04/09 <i>Easter Holiday</i>			
12. 21/04/09	NC Maths Pedagogy: strategies for teaching maths (addition, subtraction, multiplication and division)	✓	Maths / ICT plans as needed
13. 28/04/09	Role of Teaching Assistant	✓	
14. 05/05/09	Role of TA in dealing with SEN – Equal Opportunities	✓	
15. 12/05/09	Tutorials / Assignment support / video – learning difficulty	✓	Hand in first draft Maths / ICT
16. 19/05/09	Tutorials	x	
26/05/09 <i>Half Term</i>			
17. 31/05/09	Mop-up	x	Final hand-in date
18. 07/06/09	Display	x	
19. 14/06/09	IV/ Topic Independent Research	x	
20. 21/06/09	Topic Workshop	x	
21. 28/06/09	Presentations	x	
<i>Summer Holidays</i>			
22. 08/09/09	UNIT 2 Roles & Responsibilities of a TA	x	
23. 15/09/09	Working as a member of a multidisciplinary team	x	
24. 22/09/09	Building positive relationships	x	
25. 29/09/09	Promoting positive behaviour	x	
26. 06/10/09	Legislation, Policy and Role of TA; Code of Practice for SEN: Focus on assignment two	✓	
27. 13/10/09	Code of Practice for SEN	x	
28. 20/10/09	Tutorials / Assignment / support /video		
27/10/09 <i>Half Term</i>			
29. 03/11/09	First aid demonstration and workshop	✓	Hand in assignment
30. 10/11/09	Shadowing	x	
31. 17/11/09	Shadowing	x	
32. 24/11/09	Child Protection	x	
33. 01/12/09	Job Search	x	
34. 08/12/09	Graduation and Class Party	✓	

5.5.2.1 *Audio and Video Recordings*

I collected audio recordings of various kinds over the year. These were made in order to capture the classroom interactions and the classroom dynamics as fully as possible in a real live setting as they occurred in real time. I audio-recorded classroom interactions, both whole class interactions and small group work. I made audio recordings of part or sometimes all of the sessions I attended. These sometimes involved small group work (which included talking around texts such as the National Curriculum, planning activities for English, Mathematics and Information and Computer Technology (ICT), making lists of factors influencing behaviour, listing ways of dealing with difficult behaviour, and so on) and whole class activities (which included introductory tutor input and discussion episodes and plenary feedback episodes from the group work, watching and commenting on TV programmes (Teachers' TV), looking up useful websites on Blackboard, the virtual learning environment (VLE) (e.g. council websites for job vacancies and so on).

I also audio-recorded two sets of interviews with key participants, one near the beginning and one near the end of the course. Interview data was collected to build up profiles of key participants. It was also collected to provide a range of sources of information to draw on which might aid interpretation of the classroom discourse and to build a picture of the broader context, from the point of view of participants. The interviews were taken as interactions, involving the participants and me, the researcher, in keeping with the view that information is contingent on context and identities emerge in interaction rather than being stable a priori features.

I audio-recorded the first tutorials, that took place between the tutor and my key participants. However, in the end, I did not use the audio-recorded tutorial material in my analysis. Recordings were transferred to a computer for transcription and storage.

I made one video of the classroom on 5th May 2009, with the help of a media student. My aim was to use it as an aide-mémoire, to identify voices and to document the setting, the procedures and the participants involved in typical activities in the course of one session. I also audio recorded part of the video session to enhance the sound quality.

5.5.2.2 *Ethnographic data*

I also gathered ethnographic data, which included field notes, made up of diagrams, informal chats and observational data. This was collected to glean further insights into the context and the positionality of the participants, including my own and that of the tutor. During and after observing each class, I made field notes, dividing the page into two, one half for my own reflective comments and one half as a running log of events. I drew diagrams of the seating arrangements with the students marked with x, key participants being marked by initial and x. I drew diagrams of the tutor's journey across the classroom to map her movements, as part of her performance. I noted where the furniture was in the room for possible later semiotic analysis and I marked timings of activities, tape counter numberings, breaks, start and stop of recording and where relevant, beginnings and ends of sessions. I sat further back than the students to keep out of their view, except when I was distributing and collecting the recorder. In this way, my writing was not noticed by the students. I also talked to the tutor informally in the breaks and at the end of sessions. Some of these informal interactions were subsequently

written up as field notes. (See Appendix 2: The course, the tutor, the class participants: for a thick description built up from ethnographic data)

5.5.2.3 *Semi-structured interviews with the tutor*

I conducted three interviews with the tutor to obtain background information about the course, the students, the context of the course and the tutor's background, values and methods, in order to inform the data collection and add to the picture I was painting.

5.5.2.4 *Semi-structured interviews with the students*

I interviewed the 6 key participants twice: once in the first half of the course, in order to obtain background data regarding their attitudes, perceptions and motivations, and once later in the course, to take back data for confirmation and/or challenge of interpretation and to discover what had changed since the first interview, with regards to their lived experience of the course. Their assumed names are: Raj, Mandi, Katrina, Trudy, Susan and Ined. However, Katrina's interview has not been included here as she was ill for much of the year and did not take part in the whole class sessions used in this study.

I also interviewed two other students during the second series of interviews. These were the only male student (Toby) and a student who the tutor had said was having problems relating to her classmates and to the class (Amy). These served as opportunities to take back specific data that I was finding puzzling and wanted clarification on.

5.5.2.5 *Reflection on the interviews*

I treated the interviews as interactions rather than simply sources of information, in keeping with the idea that the researcher is part of the context and therefore needs to be written into the process (De Fina and Perrino, 2011). The interviews went smoothly because the students were very willing to talk and I believe this was because they had volunteered to take part rather than being coerced. The interviews turned out to be a good way of building relations with the students and, in retrospect, I wish I had interviewed all the students, at least once at the beginning, and I could perhaps have run a focus group for them at the end as I had planned. Unfortunately, time restraints meant that I could not conduct this focus group session. Because I had to work and only managed to get time off in short bursts, I found arranging the interviews rather difficult, having to fit in with the students' and my own timetable.

5.5.2.6 *Gathering of classroom texts*

My primary aim was related to classroom talk therefore I collected those texts that related to this talk as far as I was able and if they were relevant. These included the CACHE course handbook, the National Curriculum document provided by CACHE, lesson plans, scheme of work and other texts for group work such as grids for activity planning.

5.5.2.7 *Gathering of documents*

I gathered a range of documents, including Government reports and research documents. Documentary data was collected in order to obtain background information on the context of the college, the course and its wider policy context and on the students for whom the course is

designed. The College Intranet system was used to access policy documents and the College mission statement. Other documents included research reports and publications from the ESRC Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP), which provided insights into recent thinking on the sector in general from a cultural perspective along with the findings of recent empirical work. Data on current government initiatives was also collected (Leitch Report (2006) and government policy. This proved to be an ongoing project as new policies and initiatives were being implemented, funding streams altered and authoritative bodies changed. At the time of writing, 2010-2013, the situation was still changing rapidly. There has now been a change in government as well as an economic recession. Stringent cuts are being made to Further and Adult Education which have already had effects on provision and access. The students of the type who were able to access this course in 2009 may no longer be able to unless they undertake an apprenticeship which requires a prior work placement and full fees are now payable. Employers have been reluctant to come forward with offers of work placements. The policy in place at the time when I did my study of the course, that of giving funding to people who did not have a Level 2 qualification, has been cancelled. Policy is still being debated.

5.6 Preparation of data for analysis

5.6.1 Transcription of audio and video recorded data

The interviews and classroom data generated through audio and video –recording were transcribed according to those originated by Jefferson, cited in Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008, pp. vi-vii). The transcription system was modified to suit the purposes of each stage of the

analysis. Thus, in the first instance, the data was transcribed more simply without very specific aspects such as pauses, emphasis, latching and so on, being identified.

Once salient sections of the interaction were identified, which required different and more specific coding, a finer transcription was made of these, e.g. to demonstrate elements of the tutor's communicative style, power issues related to student contributions and so on. A transcription key is included with this thesis.

There were occasional problems with the audibility of the digital recordings, particularly when trying to transcribe student group work. While the tutor was very clear and spoke slowly with many pauses, which made her utterances easy to transcribe, the voices of the students were very difficult to differentiate from each other at times. Fortunately, I was able to identify the voices of my key participants through the interview recordings but other students' contributions were often not identifiable or sometimes not even transcribable. With group work, there were also problems with students overlapping, making it difficult to hear what they were saying. Some students were very soft spoken and others conducted conversations on the side, which made it difficult to capture the line of speech in the main discussion.

The video was easier to transcribe and was helpful in putting face to voice. However, the video brought up another problem. The students clammed up and also spoke more softly. The tutor said they felt relieved when it was over, suggesting the videoing process presented a major barrier to normal classroom communication for this class.

5.6.2 Selection of classroom data and interview data for analysis

Analysing the data inevitably involved selection of what was salient or meaningful. In researching culture, Geertz (1973) claimed that ‘in researching a culture, the ethnographer must record the winks, not the twitches’. This was part of what he called ‘thick description’, that is, a description of what is meaningful. ‘It is the anthropologist’s job to unravel the webs of meaning and interpret them’ (Geertz, 1973:13). To extract ‘webs of meaning’ requires interpretation. Using Geertz’s example, how does one know that the twitches are not as meaningful in some way as the winks, though perhaps not as intentional. This might relate to the difference between what Goffman (1959) calls ‘giving off’ versus ‘giving’, the twitches being part of the ‘giving off’. They might, for example, indicate a level of anxiety in a certain interaction. Alternatively, there might be some instances where winks are made in routine ways rather than being deeply meaningful at a particular moment in an interaction.

For this reason, I have taken the view adopted by conversation analysts that everything can be as meaningful as everything else. As Heritage (1984a:241) puts it:

“interaction is structurally organised, contributions to interaction are contextually organised and these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed as disorderly, accidental, irrelevant”.

Where one researcher might find an utterance or exchange insignificant, another might, due to her/ his interests, research focus and background presuppositions, find something highly relevant and worthy of further analysis. Indeed, before research in Conversational Analysis began, only the utterances given by the so called ‘informant’ were considered relevant to scrutinise in interviews, while recent research has shined a light on the significance of

interviewer/interviewee interaction (e.g. Freebody, 2003; De Fina and Perrino, 2011). This has led to new insights and implications for methodology and analysis, (following social constructionist and, more recently, poststructuralist research ideas about the centrality of the researcher's experience to the research).

In general, however, what is taken as relevant for study depends on the focus of the research project, the research questions that are asked and the expectations and presuppositions of the researcher. In my study therefore, the full interviews were recorded and transcribed as 'interactions' in order to fully reveal how information emerges out of and in the course of the interaction. As Tsitsipis (2007) discovered in his ethnographic interviews with people from Greek Albanian communities, 'rather than emerging ready for consumption, the accounts offered in interviews follow complex paths that both shape and are grounded in social rationality' (Tsitsipis, 2007:637). The relationships between the researcher and the research participant/s are not straightforward and resulting dialogues are shaped by and shape the interactions between them.

5.7 Data analysis

To conduct this analysis, I made the same assumptions as those made by researchers using a 'microanalytic' theoretical framework (Bloome et al, 2005:7). This framework sits well within the Linguistic Ethnographic approach I had selected. I took as the analytic unit, the group of people in the adult vocational classroom because "it is people who are acting and

reacting to each other...people are the context for each other³” (Bloome et al, 2005:7). I assumed that people ‘act’ and ‘react’, in response to actions that have occurred previously and in anticipation of consequences of these actions. I also assumed that the actions and reactions of people towards each other were primarily linguistic, that is, “they derive from language systems, systems for making meaning and taking social action through the use of language” (Bloome, 2005:7)⁴. Finally, I wanted to keep in mind Bakhtin’s (1981:276-277) comment that language systems are bound up with countless other actions. In Bakhtin’s words:

“having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue. After all, the utterance rises out of dialogue as a continuation of it and as a rejoinder to it-it does not approach the object from the sidelines”.

With these premises in mind and with the notion of going in and out of the analysis, I started looking at the different sets of data I had generated. I tried to work in a systematic way by using the idea of ‘first pass’, ‘second pass’, ‘third pass’, ‘fourth pass’, which I first encountered in a talk by Ray McDermott at King’s College, London.

5.7.1 *First pass: Data analysis in conjunction with field notes*

Analysis of the classroom interaction data: In the first pass, I read through the transcriptions of sessions to get a gloss on what was happening between the people in the interaction. I read these in conjunction with the fieldnotes that I had taken at the time. I then wrote a brief

³ See Erickson and Schulz, 1977)

⁴ See Halliday, 1978 and Halliday and Hasan, 1985 for theory of language as a social semiotic, from which much of this discussion is derived.

description of the ongoing situation on each recording, to identify rough categories such as topics, participants, timing, activities, tone, roughly following an Ethnography of Communication template. I did this for the whole session rather than individual episodes. This proved somewhat time-consuming. I did not want to identify fixed or finite episodes at this stage. This first pass was an attempt to get closer to the data overall, to get a feel for the mood and the way that people were relating to each other within the context. My understandings were built on my memory of previous knowledge and experience gleaned from the two pilots in the previous years, with which I inevitably compared and contrasted the present context.

Interview data analysis: I also read through the interview transcripts to remind myself of the participants and pay attention to what they said about the course and their own goals.

Document data analysis: At this stage, I also read the government documents that were circulating or were having an influence on education in 2009. I conducted a content analysis of some key documents relating to Further and Primary Education, for themes, contradictions and ambiguities. This was done as summaries with salient sections highlighted.

Further content analysis: I conducted a content analysis of the sessions to see if any of the themes identified in the government policy documents or course documents I had selected occurred in the classroom interactions. This was done as annotations.

5.7.2 Second pass: Identifying generic resources and types of activities

Having gone through both the interviews and the sessions once, and having got a good overview of the context of the interactions and reminded myself of the participants and their views on different topics relating to the course and their goals, I decided to go through the sessions again one by one, to look for particular generic resources and situate them within different types of activities, participants and so on that I had identified in the first pass. I was looking for generic resources such as stories, anecdotes, jokes, use of rhetoric (understood here as creative language resources), instructional talk, pedagogic practices such as questioning, modelling, talking around texts and so on. At this stage, I was basing my analysis on my knowledge and understandings of what constituted these resources, using systemic functional linguistic knowledge, social knowledge, cultural knowledge. So, for example, for jokes, I was looking for ‘stage instructions’ such as laughter/laughs. For rhetoric, I was looking for typical rhetorical devices such as repetition, hyperbole, metaphor and also performance devices such as gesture. The analysis was quite impressionistic in one way but also systematic in that I went through each session carefully and identified all instances of the above, using annotation in comment boxes. I then went through the sessions again, using highlighting in different colours for different generic resources, with a key. I also compared across different types of exchange: whole class (T-St) vs. group work (St-St) and within a type of exchange: whole class introductory episode vs. feedback on group work episode. This was to identify if there were any patterns across and within different types of activity. Identifying such contextualisation cues helped me answer questions about how different aspects of a situation are built up within the linguistic interaction (Gee, 2005:110).

5.7.3 Third pass: Contextualisation cues and the organisation of the talk

By this stage, I wanted to be more precise and detailed in my analysis, in terms of the contextualisation cues (Gumperz, 1982a) I was looking for and the features that made them relevant within a situation. To this end, I decided to start with Conversation Analysis (CA) in conjunction with Classroom Discourse Analysis, to identify the architecture of classroom interaction and how participants understood and responded to each other's contributions.. Because CA is highly labour intensive, I decided to start by analysing one whole 3 hour session, the first session audio-recorded on 27th January, 2009. I then compared it across selected parts of other sessions to identify patterns and anomalies within the context of particular activities.

I identified instances of turn taking, sequencing, floor holding, Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and repairs as well as strategies for co-constructing knowledge over turns. I particularly wanted to see if there was any evidence of typical classroom sequences such as Initiation Response Feedback (IRF) and question and answer (QA) but also instances where these sequences were broken for some reason through FTAs and repairs, e.g. where the floor was held for an unusual length of time. As mentioned above, I started by analysing the first session audio-recorded on 27th January 2009. I looked for patterns of occurrence within and across activity types: for example, by comparing whole class interaction (tutor –student exchanges) such as the introductory episode of the day's session to feedback sessions on group work. This would give me some idea of the power differential in these activities, as seen through turn taking management. It would reveal any break from expectations and would shine a light on how far interactions in this adult class matched those of a traditional school

classroom in terms of organisation. Later, I compared these findings against the same episode type in other selected sessions to see if there was any regularity in the patterns.

5.7.4 *Fourth pass: Employing a Hallidayan framework*

In a similar way, and using a similar strategy as in the third pass with CA, I used linguistic analysis, broadly based on Halliday's idea of language as a social semiotic. In Halliday's ([1985] 1997) framework, the context of situation (of the discourse), organised in terms of field (subject matter), tenor (relationships) and mode (packaging) is linked to linguistic and other semiotic resources by way of semantic functions such as location, modulation and so on. These fall under the categories of ideational, interpersonal and textual. I conducted an analysis of the 27 January 2009 data to see how meaning was built up in the discourse, in terms of the subject matter, the relationships between the participants and the way these were packaged in the discourse. Some of the findings were subsequently explored in other selected extracts from other sessions to see if there was any recurring pattern.

5.7.5 *Fifth pass: Turning to narrative analysis*

In the initial analysis of generic resources, I discovered that there was quite a high instance of what I called storytelling, both in the whole class interactions and the small groups. I also noticed that the relationships between the participants, especially between tutor and class, seemed more equal and less distant as a result of the storytelling and the humorous exchanges. I was interested to know why, what their function was, or whether they served more than one function. So, I decided to investigate the story telling further. To investigate stories, I started by using Labov and Waletzky's (1967) work on conversational story structure, which I

already knew about. I chose one story that seemed to have more of a beginning, middle and an end and analysed it in terms of the canonical narrative structure proposed by Labov and Waletzky: abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, evaluation, and coda. I then considered it in terms of tellability and credibility. Then I felt ‘so what?’ I also felt, this does not really fit in with the story structure as neatly as Labov and Waletzky make out, nor can it be separated from the surrounding text as easily as they do with their data. Looking further into the research on narrative analysis, I found the work of Bamberg (2004a, 2004b) and (Georgakopoulou, 2000) on ‘small stories’ and became interested in the notion of narrative-in-interaction. I also came across Wortham’s (2001) framework for analysing narrative in interaction in relation to identity, which is one of the strands lines of analysis that I was pursuing with the classroom data. As I noted in chapter 4, Wortham’s (2001) framework, which was based on a combination of Bamberg’s (2003) approach to narrative in interaction, Davies and Harré (1990) and Bakhtin’s (1981, 1984,1986) notions of voicing and ventriloquation, provided a practicable guide to analysing narrative-in-interaction.

Wortham (2001), like other scholars of narrative-in-interaction such as De Fina (2006) and Baynham(2006),was interested in both the tale context, or world of the story, and the telling context for analysing how identity is built, maintained and reproduced in narrative interactions, both within and over events in time. By looking at a number of cues, Wortham (2001) argued, one could see identity work in both contexts. This is what interested me. I was aiming to describe and analyse the identities that were evoked, both in the classroom (telling) context and in the stories (tale context). For Wortham (2001), key cues for analysing narrative interaction fell under the following categories: reference and predication, metapragmatic

descriptors, quotation, evaluative indexicals and epistemic modalisation. These cues all say something about the teller, their stance towards the world and the way they perceive others, both in the story and the telling contexts. Through the way the narrator refers to things, actions and people in the stories they tell or even in the tiny story-like utterances they make, (through reference and predication), they choose to position themselves towards these characters, facts, object, etc. For example, predicating a noun with a certain adjective, (e.g. the house is 'pokey') is a way of placing an object, event or person in a particular social group, e.g. 'poor'. Quotation/reported speech is another cue. When choosing a quotation or reporting the speech of others, the narrator is 'voicing' others (in a social group) and at the same time, positioning herself or himself towards those others through putting her or his own 'accent' on the way she or he tells it, what Bakhtin (1981) refers to as ventriloquation.

Evaluative indexicals are "lexical items, grammatical constructions, accents, or any of a number of other linguistic patterns" (Wortham, 2001:73), "which get associated with particular groups of people and when used by narrators/characters in narratives, function as indices of those groups.

Finally, in the story telling context, the way the teller positions her or himself in relation to events in the story suggests how s/he wants to be positioned in the story telling context. For example, by putting something in the past, the narrator might want to indicate to the interlocutors that they are putting a distance between themselves as they are now and as they were then.

Tannen (2007) also developed Bakhtin's (1981) ideas about ventriloquation, and saw quotation as a form of creative construction, devised for a particular purpose, unrelated to reality. By looking at the way the tutor and learners used quotation in my study, I thought I would be able to understand more about the role that narratives played in the classroom talk.

I took all the narratives that I found within the whole class interactions, which involved the tutor and the class participants, and analysed them, using Wortham's (2001) framework and Tannen's ideas about constructed dialogue. The telling of these stories helped me build a picture of the kind of nuanced identity work that was being done in the classroom, both by the tutor and by the class participants.

5.7.6 Sixth pass: Fine grained linguistic analysis of stretches of teacher-led talk

I also analysed other generic resources in more detail, using fine grained linguistic analysis, as mentioned above, to tease out the nuances of teacher-led sequences involving questioning and recasting. I wanted to problematize the way the tutor talked about curriculum content rather than accepting them as totally tutor controlled by relying solely on the traditional categories of Classroom Discourse Analysis. I investigated how texts were drawn on in different ways. I examined the ways in which intertextual reference was woven into the teacher talk and I looked at her use of more overt reference and indeed critical comment, suggesting some kind of critical or creative re-accenting in the re-telling.

5.7.7 Final pass: Extending the analysis to other data sets

Having conducted fine grained analyses of particular extracts that became relevant within the discourse, I felt the need to go back and search other whole class sessions, other data sets such as the interviews and field notes, to find where I could triangulate what I had found, check on interpretations and see how far they helped to answer my research questions.

CHAPTER 6: CONSTRUCTING INSTITUTIONAL, PROFESSIONAL AND LIFE WORLD IDENTITIES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I aim to shine a lens on the fluidity of identification within the whole class interactions that occurred in the adult vocational education class in this study. In 6.2, I aim to demonstrate how Tess moved between different identities along a continuum of power/solidarity evoking different institutional, professional and life worlds and, in so doing, ‘positioned’ (Davies and Harré, 1990:43) the class participants in different ways. Positioning is discussed in chapter 4.6.1. I also demonstrate how the class participants responded to her positioning, in a process Bakhtin called an ‘interanimation of voices’ (Bakhtin, 1981:275). In Bakhtin’s view, the “primordial dialogism of discourse” can be identified in the ways in which one speaker’s concrete utterances come into contact with or “interanimate” the utterances of others (Ibid), or even within the same utterance different voices interanimate each other. I show how she achieved this through her communicative practices, drawing on different language and generic resources. In 6.3, I make some concluding comments.

6.2 Assuming different identities along a continuum of power/solidarity

Tess moved fluidly between identities and hence, types of relationship, with the class participants. The relationships ranged along a continuum from least equal to most equal. In a manner similar to that discussed by Richards (2006) and others, the whole class interaction in

this classroom was characterised by a predominant and typical Initiation, Response, Feedback (IRF) pattern, identified in classic classroom discourse analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard, (1992). At one level, this three part exchange remained relatively constant due to the institutional or 'default' positioning of all participants, which lay behind all the interactions. Tess was 'doing being a tutor'. She initiated and fed back, controlled the topic selection, and to an extent, the ways in which topics were discussed. The participants were 'doing being students' and responded to Tess's initiations overall, occasionally initiated questions either directly to her or to each other and Tess or other participants fed back on their responses. However, within this teacherly sequence lay more agentic 'interanimation' of voices (Bakhtin, 1981:275). In fact, observed more closely, Tess used open questions to initiate, thereby encouraging a range of responses, class participants offered responses from their own experience rather than from knowledge given to them by Tess and Tess gave feedback on these responses rather than saying they were 'correct' or 'incorrect'. In so doing, 'transportable' identities emerged, not just in the feedback moves but in the initiation and response moves as well. This differed from what Richards (2006) claimed (with reference to English language classes), that it was only in the Feedback move that transportable identities emerged. It could be said, therefore, that within the institutional constraints of my classroom discourse, especially in the whole group exchanges, Tess and class participants were able to communicate their own positions, based on their own experiences. Indeed, it could be argued that an 'interanimation of voices' was ever present in this classroom interaction. This can be seen in the extracts that I discuss below. The shifting in identities found in this classroom talk could also be construed in terms of the shifts in 'footing' theorised by Goffman (1981:151) and which he saw as both multi layered and embedded in talk.

I would argue that it was in the way Tess elicited responses related to the participants' workplace experiences and chose to feedback, i.e. through her communicative practices, that she was able to construct and perform a wider range of fluid and more 'transitory' identities (Richards, 2006), such as those connected to the primary school and local and family life worlds. It was in so doing that she strategically mitigated her institutional power as she creatively oriented towards the local participants and provided them with opportunities to respond with their own stories, comments and experiences, taken from their own worlds. The participants in their turn often responded by mirroring Tess and each other in what Erickson & Schultz (1982) called interactive synchrony.

As I have already noted, Tess constructed identities and relationships, which appeared to fall along a power continuum, from unequal relationships relating to institutional power in educational worlds at one end to more equal relationships associated with local life worlds at the other. Figure 1, below identifies the range of identities constructed during the period when I was observing and recording the class.

At one end of the power continuum of relationships and within the educational world of Vocational Education and the Further Education College setting, Tess positioned herself as academic tutor, tutor counsellor and even tutor-enabler, all of which constituted her vocational tutor identity with reference to procedural topics, academic topics, emotional topics and motivational topics. She also positioned herself as colleague/old timer and fellow educational practitioner with reference to the world of primary schools, where she engendered

a slightly more equal relationship with the class participants, especially when she assumed the identity of fellow educational practitioner. At the more equal end of the power continuum, she drew on local life worlds to construct identities of fellow parent and fellow adult, thereby engendering more equal relationships with the class participants. In doing this, she was attempting to mitigate her institutional power over them in an effort to reduce social distance. The embedding of identities within unequal power relations is discussed in section 4.5.2 in relation to poststructuralist understandings. Mitigating asymmetrical power relations is discussed in 4.7.1 At times, she moved from one identity to the next according to the activity and where she was in the wider session. However, she also adopted identities within the flow of the talk, in response to the moment-by-moment emergence of ideas within particular dialogic exchanges. I argue that these identities arise as she adopts a stance on the topic under discussion, ‘positioning’ herself and others as she ‘voices’ particular social groups (Bakhtin, 1981), while at the same time always keeping in mind her effect on her interlocutors.

This change in relationship and identity and the resultant changes in the accompanying classroom talk, along a continuum of power and solidarity, has resonance with the ideas of Halliday (1985), specifically in relation to the semantic metafunctions of tenor and mode. Although this is not the way I chose to analyse my data, it could be said that the changes in classroom relationship brought on changes in mode, from abstract (or generalised ‘academic’ language), being used when Tess was ‘doing being an academic tutor’, to very concrete (or context embedded) language, when Tess and the class participants were ‘doing being parents’ or ‘doing being adults’ in a digital world’. However, what was actually happening was more fluid, ambiguous and fleeting than is accounted for in Halliday’s framework.

Figure 1: Range of worlds evoked and identities constructed

<i>Educational world</i>	<i>Educational world</i>	<i>Other shared worlds</i>
Vocational Education (CACHE related)	Primary School	Local Life worlds Family/community
Further Education College		
Vocational Tutor= /academic tutor/	Colleague/	Fellow parent/ Fellow adult
Tutor-counsellor/tutor-enabler	Old timer	Ed. Practitioner
.....		
-Equal	Power, solidarity and social distance	+Equal
Lower solidarity		Higher solidarity
Greater social distance		Less social distance

In moving between identities within the talk and in response to the institutional context, Tess also inevitably positioned the class participants in particular ways. Figure 2 therefore shows the ways she positioned the participants.

Figure 2: Positioning of class participants by Tess

FE College	Primary Education	Local life
		Worlds
As	As	As
‘fragile’ learners/ anxious adults/student/ regular students	‘anxious’ or ‘knowledgeable’ newcomers/fellow Ed Practitioners	fellow parent/adult
.....		
-Equal	Power, solidarity and social distance	+Equal
Lower solidarity		Higher solidarity
Greater social distance		Less social distance

By moving in and out of these identities in the sequence of the talk, Tess linked different worlds, for example, education institutional worlds and local 'life worlds' (Habermas ([1984]1986)).

By moving towards life world identities, she brought herself and the other class participants into a more equal relationship with greater solidarity and less social distance. By moving towards the institutional identities, Tess moved herself and the other class participants into a more unequal relationship, with less solidarity and greater social distance. This fluid movement between identities was emergent and contingent within the talk in the interactions. Moreover, her constant movement between worlds and consequently more and less equal relationships with the class participants seemed to constitute a 'dynamic' tension, captured by Bakhtin, (1981) between centripetal, centralizing institutional forces on the one hand and centrifugal, local or peripheral forces on the other. This will be discussed further in chapter 7 when I look at the way that Tess mediated the educational discourses for these students.

Within the vocational world of Further Education and more specifically the CACHE-related world of the Teaching Assistants course at Level two, Tess constructed and performed an institutional identity of 'vocational education tutor'. In this 'default' identity, (Richards, 2006), she acted to help the students pass the course successfully in order to access paid employment as Teaching Assistants. It was in the performance of this identity that Tess held most power in relation to the class participants, primarily because she was the most knowledgeable about the curriculum and about what was required to pass. In her capacity as paid 'tutor', she also had institutional control over whether they progressed onto the next

level. However, she did not have ultimate authority, as this was in the hands of the examining board. Moreover, issues around funding for the Level three course were out of her control.

When addressing particular exchanges and topics as ‘vocational tutor’, she positioned the participants, at certain times as ‘regular students’ and at other times as ‘fragile’ learners (her own words) or ‘anxious’ adults. Emotional and social aspects of learning are at the heart of student-centred-learning, the pedagogical approach central to the Further Education Tutors, as discussed in chapter 2.4. She positioned the participants in these varied ways due to her perceptions of their academic backgrounds and as adult returners. (See Appendix 2 for backgrounds of participants). The topic areas in which she positioned the students as ‘most fragile’ were principally ICT and Maths. She also positioned them as ‘fragile’ in terms of their knowledge and skills in academic, authoritative English and as ‘anxious’ in terms of their confidence in explaining and presenting to others, i.e. as anxious newcomers to their role as teaching assistant.

In positioning the students as ‘fragile learners’, requiring more delicate handling, Tess seemed to orient to an identity as tutor-counsellor / tutor-enabler. These tutor counsellor/ tutor-enabler identities embodied in her further education tutorhood, were indexed by ways of speaking associated with the worlds of therapy and counselling. Part of my tutor’s counsellor/enabler identity consisted of supporting negative emotions, enabling positive emotions and actions that would enable the learners to feel confident and competent in their role as TAs. Apart from this, at other moments, while addressing other topics, such as legislation and codes of practice, she positioned the participants as regular ‘vocational adult students’, dealing with

‘required’ therefore ‘possibly boring’ topics and herself as ‘having to teach the topics as part of the curriculum’. This positioning seemed to put her and the participants in a more equal relationship in terms of power and stance towards the topic at hand than that of counsellor, enabler or even academic tutor. In taking a stance towards the topic of legislation as being potentially ‘boring’, she was voicing a social group of people who were not interested in abstract theorising, and in doing so, she was potentially aligning herself with what she imagined her students might feel. This complex intertwining of stance, alignment and positioning resonated with what Baynham (2011) discussed and indeed what Bakhtin was suggesting in his theorising about voicing and ventriloquation.

Within the primary education world, Tess took on a slightly less powerful position in relation to the participants since she was not acting in an institutional capacity with regard to assessing their work placements, but acting rather as a ‘facilitator’, encouraging them to use their work placements, both as a resource for discussion and ultimately to inform their assignments. In this, more tangential, capacity, she constructed and performed an identity of ‘old timer colleague’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991:57) to the class participants, drawing on her own experience and skills in primary education and eliciting theirs. (See Appendix 2: Thick Description, for background of tutor.) From this perspective, she positioned the class participants, who were just starting out, as ‘newcomers’, albeit with developing knowledge and skills drawn from their TA work placements. Sometimes she positioned them as ‘knowledgeable’ and at other times, as ‘anxious’. In both, she was positioning herself as being in a relationship of unequal power where she had slightly more power and they had slightly less. However, unlike the institutional world, in this world their relationship was more equal,

therefore her institutional power was mitigated. At times, and still within the world of primary school, she even constructed and performed an identity of ‘fellow education practitioner’ (FEP), in which she acted and spoke in an almost equal relationship to the class participants, comparing her own knowledge and experiences with theirs, in a collaborative building of knowledge. Again, by doing this, she seemed to be mitigating any institutional power that she had, by virtue of her institutional situation, over these adult learners in a vocational educational context. As noted in 4.7.1, mitigation of power between professionals and non-professionals and ‘conciliatory forms of talk’ (Roberts and Sarangi, 2001:188) are effective in this type of adult classroom in which, I argue, power relations are not ‘imposed’ but are either ‘assumed’ or ‘negotiated’, terms employed by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). These two educational worlds of adult vocational and primary education were embedded, of course, in other institutional worlds of power beyond college and school: namely, the world of awarding bodies, that authorised and designed the courses; the world of higher education, where research on primary teaching and learning is conducted; the world of the funding bodies that financed the students, and ultimately the world of government, which constructed the legislation, policies and strategies that underpinned both Primary Education and Vocational Education in England and Wales. (See chapter 2). Tess adopted certain discourse practices that were shaped by these wider institutional worlds and, in turn, her discourse practices shaped the practices of the class participants. This will be discussed in chapter 7 on mediating discourses.

Outside the institutional worlds mentioned above lay other non-institutional and shared ‘life worlds’. In evoking these worlds, Tess was constructing relatively egalitarian identities, for

example, from the local life world of family, from which she drew the identity of ‘fellow parent’, foregrounding the identities of most of the class participants as parents, and the local lifeworld of community, from which she drew the identity of ‘fellow adult’, living in a certain city in the UK, for example, in common with the other class participants. What was interesting here with respect to her discursive practices was how she moved fluidly in and out of different identity positions and in doing so, straddled the different worlds. In the rest of section 6.2 below, I will demonstrate how she constructed and performed these identities and moved from one to another within and contingent with the flow of the talk, through her communicative practices and through the use of different linguistic and semiotic resources.

6.2.1 *Data analysis section 1: 27 January 2009. Extract 1. From vocational education tutor to fellow education practitioner and back to tutor*

In extract 1, taken from the introduction to the session on planning (27 January 2009), Tess was discussing with the class participants the reasons why they should plan for learning, and how they should do so. Planning is part of the National Curriculum laid down by the government and is central to the role of all primary education practitioners.

As the discussion unfolded, a number of communicative practices constituting ‘doing being the tutor’ recurred. They include the following: display of knowledge, topic selection, IRF sequencing and lexicogrammatic choices such as first and second person pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’, nominalisations and the use of the present tense. They also included literacy practices such as ‘recording’ legitimate wordings on the board and making summary statements. In classroom exchanges where these practices predominated, Tess was clearly foregrounding her identity as academic tutor. However, from time to time, she also slipped into an identity as

fellow education practitioner (FEP). During these moments, she elicited TA knowledge and thus prompted freer interactional sequences in which the trainees TAs were the providers of new information from their work placements. As FEP, Tess also used pronouns, e.g. ‘we’ (FEPs) and 3rd person ‘they’ (the children or the primary teacher) and other changes in pronominal or lexical choices that related to the world of the primary classroom rather than college classroom. These linguistic resources were exploited on a moment to moment basis as means to switch identities in response to the situation as it was played out, as I will demonstrate with reference to extract 1 below:

Extract 1:

- 1 Tess: (..)| why do we need to plan ((tutor writes on board)) (.) what do you think(.) [I]
CP: ((very quiet)) (..) (otherwise we would be all over the place?) [R]
Tess: Yeah it's all really all over the place isn't it what do you call that (.) making sure
it's organised (.) ((she starts writing on the board)) so it has benefits for
5 organisation [F] (.)|why do you want things to be organised rather than a mishmash[I]
Raj: Time [R]
Tess: Ok that it has implications for time definitely| I know I only have three hours to
teach (.)to make sure I've covered everything I want to (..)| so time is definitely an
issue (.)[F] why else would we want to be organised. (1)⁵

In extract 1, Tess, ‘doing being the tutor’, began by displaying her knowledge of reasons for planning (organisation, time). She also used a typical teacherly IRF turn structure (See lines 1-

⁵ References to text matched to analysis by line numbers

9). In her feedback, she recast the participant's own words in a more 'legitimate' academic discourse, as follows: firstly, the participant's use of the personal pronoun 'we' became more distant by Tess using a third person pronoun 'it'(line 3). Secondly, the colloquial phrasing and additive quality of the participant's explanation 'otherwise we would be all over the place' (line 2) became more lexically formal, yet still clausally structured as 'making sure it's organised' (line 3-4). Thirdly, the participant's original contribution was recast for writing on the board in its most legitimised form, as the nominalised 'it has benefits for organisation'. (lines 4-5). The question 'what do you call that' (line 3) in which she used the pronoun 'you' to address the participants as 'students' indicated the labelling recast she was about to construct.

Again, in lines 6-7, she performed as 'tutor' by recasting a participant's one word answer into a more explanatory clause, as follows: the word 'time' became the fuller clause 'it has implications for time'.

In 'doing being the tutor', Tess positioned the class participants as default 'students', (Richards, 2006). Class participants responded to Tess's positioning them as 'students' in this extract, by offering the Response move in the IRF sequence. They complied with the IRF sequence set up by Tess by responding predictably to her questions. This can be seen in line 2, where one student responds to Tess's initiation 'wh' question 'why', reinforced by 'what do you think' to encourage a response:

Tess: (..) | why do we need to plan ((tutor writes on board)) (...) what do you think(...)

[I]

CP: ((very quiet)) (..) (otherwise we would be all over the place?) [R]

Again, this response as default 'student' can be seen in line 6, where Raj provides the Response move to Tess's Initiation question:

Tess: [wh...] why do you want things to be organised rather than a mishmash [I]

Raj: Time [R]

However, the reply was drawn from the experience of Raj, not provided by Tess, implying that there was some 'wiggle' room for interpretation in what was expected and predicted. Raj could have suggested any number of factors in response to Tess's Initiation question.

Moreover, Tess then fed back on the answer Raj gave, by reiterating and expanding on it, rather than saying it was 'wrong' or 'right' according to a prescribed formula, indicating that Tess's question was not a 'display' question. I would argue that this demonstrated a certain interanimation of voices, despite the institutional constraints of the classic IRF classroom teaching sequence.

In lines 7-8 then, in the wordings 'I know' and 'I want to', Tess discursively adopted a more egalitarian identity of 'fellow education practitioner' (FEP), within the world of primary education, to demonstrate how she personally used time in the TA classroom. The change in subject pronoun, from third person 'it' to first person 'I' indexed this change in identity. In this fluid move in identity, arising from the topic under discussion, i.e. time, she also seemed to suddenly position the class participants as 'fellow education practitioners', sharing experiences of planning time. She was not telling them what to do or how to do it, just saying

what she did as one might exchange planning styles with colleagues. In terms of using her classroom practice as example, we can analyse the way Tess used language to build identity. The repeated choice of first person pronoun 'I', the mental processes 'know' and 'make sure' and emotive 'want', the evaluative indexical 'only' and the specific detail in 'I know I only have three hours' to teach (.) (line 7 - 8), to make sure I've covered everything I want to' were discursive elements she used to build up a persuasive personal narrative, in which she played the part of FEP. Her identity as FEP, sharing ideas and opinions, was importantly constructed through first hand witness to the event. This echoed the discursive narrative practice called 'epistemic modalisation', discussed by Wortham, (2001:74).

Finally, in line 8-9, Tess moved back into 'doing being a tutor' to close the sub-topic:

'so time is definitely an issue'.

This was again indicated by a change in subject from first person pronoun 'I' back to 3rd person 'time' and a more general summary statement using the present tense. This move from particularity (Chafe, 1984:1099) to generality indexed a return to a more institutional identity, with greater social distance and a greater differential in power relations. The relationship between changes in tenor and resulting changes in mode, in accordance with Halliday (1994)'s framework, are discussed in 4.2.

Further to these 'tutor' and 'fellow educational practitioner' identity moves, there were also interesting ambiguities in identification where tensions between her identities could be evidenced. I will focus on two here. Firstly, while as tutor, Tess exploited summary statements, personal opinion was still apparent as in line 8 in the adverb 'definitely'. This hint

at opinion was interesting, being never far away in this classroom, where Tess was always anxious to mitigate her institutional power for these adults. Secondly, within the first and last turns framing extract 1, when Tess was positioning herself as a tutor, opening and closing a topic and using the IRF sequencing so typical of teachers, there emerged a form of identification that suggested more equality, as shown in her use of the inclusive ‘we’ subject pronoun in ‘why do we need to plan’ (line 1) and ‘why else would we want to be organised’ (line 9). In choosing this pronoun, Tess was classifying the class participants as being in the same identity category as herself. The category she and the participants were claiming, that of fellow educational practitioners or fellow ‘educationalists’, was spelt out explicitly later, as we see in Extract 2, line, line 3 below.

Extract 2:

1 T: ...why else do we need to plan?

St: Reading and writing?

T: Yes, that’s really important. (..) as educationalists, we are paid to achieve certain results’.

The response of class participants to this positioning was interesting and perhaps indexed good relations between Tess and the participants themselves in this class: the class participants seem to mirror Tess’s changes in identity within turns and between turns and vice versa. Thus, in extract 1, when Tess uses ‘we’ in line 1 to indicate a more egalitarian relationship, suggesting a fellow practitioner identity in action, the participant responds using the same pronoun ‘we’ as Tess, echoing this same fellow practitioner identity.(line 1-2). Tess

too mirrored the participant responses by using the same lexical items, for example, 'all over the place' (line 2-3) and 'time' (6-7). Thus, there was evidence of going both ways signifying perhaps reciprocity of relationship to an extent. As mentioned above though, this was only to an extent as Tess was recasting as well as repeating with the vocational tutor default identity underpinning all others. The use of inclusive pronoun 'we', for example, has been theorised by Fairclough (1992) as being a form of 'synthetic personalisation'. I argue against such an extreme reading, considering that Tess used this pronoun in a myriad of ways to match her constantly shifting identity.

In extract 1, regarding these participants' responses to Tess's recasting, mentioned above, there was no evidence to suggest that they were challenging the recast, therefore the positioning as 'student'. Nor was there any evidence of their negotiating their position. One could say they were adopting 'assumed' identities here. The participant in line 2 seemed to accept the recast, both the spoken version and the written version on the board (line 3 & 4), judging by her silence. Again, in line 8, Raj did not challenge or add to the extended version of her response in line 7. In fact, class participants generally seemed to mirror the identities that Tess set up in extracts 1 and 2, not just across topics and events but even within the moment by moment emerging interaction within turns and from one turn to the next as I have shown.

However, there was other evidence of their agency in the very responses that they offered and in the way that Tess fed back on what they had offered, e.g. 'Time', 'reading and writing', etc. In the extracts below, as Tess moved in and out of different identities, I will show how

participants and Tess mirrored each other's positioning. At times, participants negotiated with Tess's agenda and once or twice even politely challenged her positioning. This was at the level of turn taking, that is, the architecture of the lesson. At a more local level, more complex communication was taking place, suggesting the inevitability of the dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1981:284) of communication, even within such constrained institutional settings as the classroom and the whole class sessions. There was also a continual tension between the centripetal pull towards the centre and institution, through the maintenance of the lesson plan and scheme of work and the centrifugal pull towards the periphery, in the appropriation of topics for participants' own ends.

My interpretation of these identity shifts is as follows: I argue that the reason Tess sometimes adopted an egalitarian identity, within the context of unequal power relations, was because of the tension between centrifugal and centripetal forces that occur in any institutional communication. In turn, this gave rise to tensions and ambiguities in the interactions in this adult vocational classroom context. Thus, even within this seemingly unlikely site of struggle one can always find evidence of there being interanimation of voices.

6.2.2 *Data analysis section 2: 17 March 2009. Long extract 3. From tutor to tutor-counsellor to fellow adult, to old timer to tutor*

In extract 3, I will illustrate how Tess shifted position, or changed 'footing', in Goffman's (1981) terms, moving from tutor to tutor-counsellor, then to fellow adult, to old timer and back to tutor, all within a relatively short space of time. I will also discuss how the class participants responded to Tess's switches in position, showing how students demonstrated agency making their voices heard.

Extract 3 is a long extract, taken from the session on planning an activity using ICT (17 March: see Ch.5, table 3 for topics covered). The extract was taken from an activity in which class participants were feeding back on an ICT activity, a ‘discovery’ exercise, which required them to look up certain websites. Tess and the class participants were reviewing how the exercise had been organised, how it was run and how they felt about it. As ‘tutor’, Tess was partially using the exercise to model discovery learning. Perhaps as ‘old timer’, she was also using the exercise to give participants, as ‘newcomers’, the opportunity to look at some resources that they could use as Teaching Assistants, and which they could then feed into their assignments as ‘students’.

6.2.2.1 Tutor to tutor-counsellor/tutor-enabler: Foregrounding the affective dimension of learning

One of the key discourses Tess invoked was a discourse about the emotion surrounding learning something new and perhaps difficult. In doing this, I argue, she adopted an identity as ‘tutor-counsellor’ and positioned the majority of class participants as ‘anxious learners’. It could be said that she also positioned herself here as ‘tutor-enabler’ by demonstrating to the class participants how she survived or overcame difficulties. By so doing, it could be said that she was attempting to enable the ‘anxious learners’ to do the same. In addition to this, Tess also adopted the identity of ‘old timer’ enabling ‘anxious newcomers’ to help children learn new and sometimes difficult things themselves. This focus on enabling students to build self-esteem, derived from Rogers’s (1959) client-centred framework for therapy, became one of the main tenets of student-centred learning (Rogers,1996). In the course of the discussion which followed, Tess moved fluidly from one moment to the next between the identities of ‘tutor’ and ‘tutor-counsellor’ from the further education college world, ‘old timer’ from the

world of primary school, and even ‘fellow adult’ from a local life world as I will show in the analysis below. This kind of juxtaposing of habitual identities and worlds is part of what Bakhtin (1981) conceptualised as an ‘interanimation of voices’, which may lead to emergent and transformational ways of seeing. I will not be drawing on the whole longer extract, which is included here to provide context, but will take shorter extracts from it to illustrate moves between identities (The switches in identity have been marked with a vertical line):

Extract 3 (longer extract taken from 17 March 2009 session):

1 Tess: |What we are going to do now is we are going to feedback on that exercise, so we talked about, why we were actually doing it the fact that I had not just thrown you in completely at the deep end had I umm what had I done...a paper trail. What do we mean by a paper trail? [I]

5 CPs: ((talking amongst themselves)) [R]

Tess: So rather than just throwing you in at the deep end, because I do know there are a few people who lack ICT confidence, in this research exercise what I have done ...I have created you a folder, I’ve talked you through how to get to that folder and then we had links to various websites. [F] Now what were the advantages or what did

10 I suggest or we discuss were the advantages of doing that. [I]

CP: Saves time? [R]

Tess: Saves time, in terms of classroom planning it means that kind of prevents people messing around going to dead ends. [F] What else was important? [I]

CP: Not going on adult sites?| [R]

15 Tess: Yes, so if you are working with children it means they are not as likely to be going off on things you don't want them to, they are not going to type something into Google then come up with something completely inappropriate.. [F]

CP: Like naked Barbies ... ((Laugh)|

20 Tess: So, why else is it important? Why does streamlining things build confidence for someone?

CP: Don't get a chance to get on, do they?

Tess: Those of you who... The experienced ones have to shut up now (.) those of you experienced in ICT you keep quiet now, I'm going to ask this question purely to those
25 who felt nervous, how did it make you feel when you initially went on the computer, how did you feel?

CP: Quite scared.

Tess: Yeah, how many of you wanted to bolt out of that door?

CP: ((Laughs)) Yes.

30 Tess: That's ok. That's a normal response, what did I do that made you not bolt out the door?

CP: We were put with someone that knew what they were doing.

Tess: So you were with someone that knew what they were doing, that's quite important isn't it,| so when you're thinking about setting up ICT for children can you
35 pair them up with someone who knows what they are doing? | So that you feel confident, what else did I do that helped you feel a bit more confident about how you go?

Toby: Get resources ready

40 Tess: So all the materials and all the resources were there ready, that made life a little bit easier.

Toby: So you're not spending hours and hours looking for something and it's there for you.

Tess: How do you think you would have coped if you had to spend hours and hours looking for stuff?

45 CP: I wouldn't look.

Tess: You would not have looked, you wouldn't have tackled it (..) you would have thought "this job's too big for me, no thank you."

Toby: I would have gone for a coffee quicker. ((Laughs))

50 Tess: You would have gone for a coffee quicker, so it can be frustrating can't it. | So if you are going to make sure people want to engage in something in new and perhaps a little bit threatening or frightening, I have to say actually for most children ICT isn't frightening they mostly dive in because they actually quite enjoy it. |

CP: My sonIt is scarier when you're an adult using a computer and you don't know what you're doing

55 Tess: Yes, because everyone else knows what they are doing and you don't want to look like a prat.

CP: Even my seven year old knows what she's doing.

60 Tess: Yeah, and it makes you feel this small you know (.) |my husband knows how to make me feel this small ((indicates)) because he's an ICT expert...the trouble is that he assumes that I know things he knows, so I will say "how did I do this" and he will go, "oohhhhhh its easy"... don't ever say "oohhhhhh its easy" in that tone, you make

someone feel bad, like that ((indicates)), they don't want to listen at that, and then they go "click, click, click - now you see how easy that was?"

CPs: ((Laugh))

65 Tess: And you sort of look at them and think "where's the ice pick?"

CPs: ((Laugh))

Tess: You just feel so frustrated and angry because they may be able to go click, click, click but you didn't manage to retain more than the first click never mind anything else, so the next time you do it you'll be asking ...and they'll say "I told

70 you how to do it before. How come you don't remember?"

CP: ((laugh)) |

Tess: | So when you are working with children what do you think would be key things that you have to do?

CP: Show them?

75 Tess: Show them, or let them do it. So what could you do, |what did I do? How did I start off the activity?

CP: Gave us a little bit first and then....

Tess: Yeah, split it into chunks, all manageable steps| so remember they will only retain the familiar instructions, once people know how to do something they can go

80 done, done, done and the chances are you will retain it because it's not unfamiliar,

when you're working on unfamiliar territory and this goes for any area of education, break it down, keep it simple, take a couple of a steps at a time then you can move on.

That's why I couldn't rush off to do any marking during this activity because I knew I couldn't actually leave you for that long, because even though I had it all set up and

85 organized in advance, it wasn't the sort of thing I could have done completely
unsupervised. But was I intervening all the time?

CP: No.

Tess: So what did I do?

Toby: Wandered around

90 CP: Made suggestions every now and again.

Tess: I was monitoring wasn't I? I was moving around, I was looking over people's
shoulders, I was making the odd comment when I thought it was appropriate (.)

occasionally if I thought if people were taking too long on one thing and not moving
on to another I might mention something they can move on to, but as far as I possibly

95 could I allowed you the freedom to explore, why's that important do you think?

CP: You learn better that way?

Toby: Otherwise you might not be very happy

Tess: You learn better. If I had just taken you through step by step saying "do this, do
that", you might have learnt something but not very much. Why do you learn more by

100 doing it yourself? Experimenting?

Toby: Because you are more hands on.

Tess: Absolutely, learning that goes in... active learning, it stays with you better.

How many of you found it actually quite a nice morning? (Toby: yeah(.) you looked
like you were enjoying yourself (.) in fact I could hear giggles at times (.)Why

105 was it fun?

CP: Because we got to play three year old games ((Loud laughing)).

Tess: Exactly, it was limited wasn't it, it was relaxing and again that's the benefit of ICT and education, you just experienced it(.) from the other side (.) as a student(.) you were actually, instead of me just droning on at you for the first part of the morning,
110 you were able to just go and play.

Amy: The sites that you had were quite large and we all probably went onto the site at a different point and there was so many different takes on so many different sites, wasn't there, that depending on what you clicked on, the site was so big we have all probably got a different take on the same site as well.

115 Tess: Why do you think I did it that way?

Amy: So we did get a different take on it?

Tess: Yeah, because when you get to the feedback stage it means you can all share the benefit of that experience... I mean I'm not, because I did allow slightly longer than I intended but umm it was because you were having a lot of fun and I thought you were
120 learning what I wanted you to learn without me really having to go into depth, I don't think I'm going to bother getting you to share, I think we will run out of time if we have to do that. But did you all manage to identify maybe 3 sites that you thought yeah I might go back... Did anyone go "yeah I'm going to go back"?

CPs: Yeah.

125 Tess: You can feel free not to answer because those who said they were nervous this morning how many on the basis of this morning would like to go back?

CPs: Yeah

Tess: Now that I'm really glad to know , I'm really happy with that I do hope you weren't just saying that to please me.

130 CPs: ((Speaking all at once and laughing)).

Tess: That's the whole point though because until you have done it, how do you build up the confidence to tackle it? If you can create that...how did you feel after you had done it? (..) How do you feel at the moment? (..)

CPs: Eager to do more ((Other students talk but can't catch it)) ((laughing))

135 Tess: What's the first thing you are going to tell your children or whoever it is you see when you're at home? Is there this instant desire to say, "I can do this?" Yeah?

((Students say yeah)). |That is how a child feels when you have helped them learn something in class... remember that feeling (.) because what you have just understood is how a student feels when they have something they have been a success at. How

140 motivated does it make you feel, yeah? If you can set up activities in such

a way that children achieve that not without being stretched but being stretched

beyond the point of being able to succeed, they will feel the way you are feeling right now (.) and that's important (.) that's really important because that's how you engage children, not just from learning at that time but they want to do more, OK. | It's what

145 my PE instructor managed to completely do the opposite of because (.) you know (.) I hate being shouted at and being shouted at to try harder when I was trying my very

best made me completely switch off sport, but sports were always designed for people with advanced sporting skills. If you were someone like me and needed to go back to remedial classes, I needed to be allowed to do different kinds of sporting exercises

150 umm and I know that if I have the right kind of sporting training I can actually do

sports but I completely walked away from all of that (.) when I was a kid (.) because of the experiences I had. | So how you deliver and how you set up your activities is

actually really really important because it could make the difference between them becoming a scientist or not, or becoming a writer or not. So just remember those
155 feelings.

Throughout this longer extract, Tess performed an overarching ‘default’ identity as ‘tutor’, while moving in and out of other identities, ‘tutor-counsellor’, ‘old timer’ and ‘fellow adult’ as I will demonstrate by taking examples from the longer passage .

Tutorhood: To give an example of her ‘doing being a ‘tutor’, I will look at the first eleven lines of the longer extract 3. I will start numbering the short extracts from 4. Line numbering will be created for each extract separately for easy access.

Extract 4:

1 Tess: |What we are going to do now is we are going to feedback on that exercise, so we talked about, why we were actually doing it the fact that I had not just thrown you in completely at the deep end had I umm what had I done...a paper trail. What do we mean by a paper trail? [I]

5 CPs: ((talking amongst themselves)) [R]

Tess: So rather than just throwing you in at the deep end, because I do know there are a few people who lack ICT confidence, in this research exercise what I have done have created you a folder, I’ve talked you through how to get to that folder and then we had links to various websites. [F] Now what were the advantages or what did I
10 suggest or we discuss were the advantages of doing that. [I]

St: Saves time? [R]

As before, Tess constructed her identity of ‘tutor’, using typical IRF sequencing. (See I, R and F marked in square brackets on the extract). She also modelled pedagogy, in this case, ‘discovery learning’, an approach associated with student-centred learning. In modelling discovery learning, for the participants, as students of education, she was leading them to understand and articulate how it was managed and what the benefits were. This modelling clearly took place in the Further Education classroom world as opposed to the primary education world of their work placements. An example of this modelling can be seen in extract 4 in the discussion about a paper trail of steps to follow to find the websites to enable learners to keep on track and to prevent the discovery exercise becoming chaotic. What Tess had in mind here was creating a folder, providing steps on how to get to the folder and how to link to various websites from the folder.

The way Tess used pronouns signified the identity she was adopting, both for herself and for the class participants. For example, ‘I’ seemed to signify the ‘tutor’ identity and ‘you’ the ‘student’ identity in extract 4. Interestingly, in contrast, the inclusive ‘we’ pronoun within the turn indicated a shift to a more egalitarian positioning, perhaps that of ‘fellow practitioners’. Again, the use of first person pronoun ‘we’ is ambiguous and highly dependent on context. As Pennycook (1994:275) warns, pronouns “are in fact very complex and political words, always raising difficult issues of who is being represented”. In my study, the tutor, Tess, uses ‘we’ in a variety of ways, sometimes to include her audience of class participants as members of a certain group, in a bid for social solidarity for example in the above instance, at other

times to refer to herself as part of a group that they do not belong to, that is, teachers, as part of a social identity at increased social distance. Class participants did not speak up in response to Tess's question directly but discussed what a paper trail was amongst themselves. Tess had to continue her turn and explain what it meant in the absence of any direct response. They could be said to be responding to her positioning of them as 'fellow practitioners' by using 'we' (line 4), prompting them to discuss rather than simply provide an answer to a question. Whatever the motivation, they chose to interpret the question as a trigger for discussion of the word amongst themselves, drawing on their own understandings and experiences.

An interesting finding in the above lines was the constant reference to emotion. This was indexical of the way Tess positioned herself as tutor-counsellor and tutor-enabler and the majority of class participants as 'fragile learners' or 'anxious' adult learners. Thus, through the use of the metaphor 'throwing you in at the deep end' (Lines 2/3 and 6) to represent 'how not to teach', and the reference to poor self-esteem in the comment about participants 'who lacked ICT confidence' (Line 7), Tess set up a particular positioning of emotional fragility in relation to use of new technology. The ongoing talk in the long extract (extract 3) about how the participants felt during the exercise reinforced this positioning. Extract 5 will again illustrate this reference to emotion and how this served to position at least some of the class participants as 'fragile'. Eight examples of Tess identifying as tutor-counsellor were found just in 21 lines of talk in the following extract, 5, positioning the class participants as 'fragile' through the use of emotive adjectives and metaphorical expressions: 'felt nervous'(line 3), 'quite scared' (line 5), 'bolt out the door' (line 6), 'feel confident' and 'feel a bit more confident' (line 13-14), 'made life a bit easier' (line 17-18), 'this job's too big for me, no

thank you.” (line 25), ‘you would have gone for a coffee quicker, so it can be frustrating can't it’ (line 26-27).

Extract 5:

1 Tess: Those of you who... The experienced ones have to shut up now, those of you experienced in ICT you keep quiet now (.) I'm going to ask this question purely to those who felt nervous (.) how did it make you feel when you initially went on the computer (.) how did you feel?

5 CP: Quite scared.

Tess: Yeah, how many of you wanted to bolt out of that door

CP: ((Laughs)) Yes.

Tess: That's ok. That's a normal response, what did I do that made you not bolt out the door?

10 CP: We were put with someone that knew what they were doing.

Tess: So you were with someone that knew what they were doing, that's quite important isn't it,| so when you're thinking about setting up ICT for children can you pair them up with someone who knows what they are doing? | So that you feel confident, what else did I do that helped you feel a bit more confident about how

15 you go?

Toby: Get resources ready

Tess: So all the materials and all the resources were there ready, that made life a little bit easier.

Toby: So you're not spending hours and hours looking for something and it's there for

20 you.

Tess: How do you think you would have coped if you had to spend hours and hours looking for stuff?

CP: I wouldn't look.

Tess: You would not have looked (.) you wouldn't have tackled it (.) you would have
25 thought "this job's too big for me, no thank you."

Toby: I would have gone for a coffee quicker. ((Laughs))

Tess: You would have gone for a coffee quicker, so it can be frustrating can't it.

From those who took part in the whole class discussion, some class participants, who Tess referred to as 'those who felt nervous', echoed her positioning of them as anxious about ICT. They did this by agreeing with her opinions and verdicts and expressing their negative feelings about the ICT exercise. For example, when 'those who were nervous' were asked how they felt, they replied by expressing negative feelings 'quite scared' (rather than for example, 'not bad' or 'okay') (line 5). When asked 'how many wanted to bolt out the door', they acknowledged Tess's joke analogy by laughing (lines 7, 26). They also agreed with her that they wanted to 'bolt out of that door' by saying 'yes' (line 6). All these responses clearly indicated that they were positioning themselves as 'anxious' or fragile in that they felt negative towards the topic that is, having to prove themselves competent at ICT.

Similarly, Toby in line 26 of extract 5 and another student in line 23 gave Tess the emotionally anxious replies she was wanting when she asked why it was important to have resources ready. At one level, they seemed to be positioning themselves exactly the way she

positioned them, that is, they mirrored her positioning of them at that particular moment in the flow of the conversation. However, at another level, they were offering their own ideas of why the search might be difficult, that is, they were exercising a degree of agency in their responses to Tess's question as to reasons for needing to organise the resources beforehand. e.g. not looking or going for coffee. The fact that Tess fed back on what they said rather than simply pursuing her own agenda further suggests a dialogic interanimation of voices. The dialogicality of this exchange is elaborated on below.

In these lines, Tess was looking for answers that suggested difficulty and discomfort (if resources were not ready). 'Toby' was the one who brought up the sub- topic of getting resources ready. He therefore might have felt Tess's remark about not bothering to look if websites were difficult to find was addressed to him directly so he had a motive to engage by offering a funny yet emotional reply from his own life experience in 'I would have gone for coffee quicker' (line 26). Toby's laughter signalled his engagement in the exchange. In this fleeting comment, with regard to narrative and its role in identity construction (Baynham, 2006:396), Toby could be seen as presenting himself in this hypothetical scenario in two ways: both as 'funny man and as 'terrified' computer user who would rather run away than take a risk. By playing the 'joker', he took a stance on the topic, as the one who was prepared to speak out, while at the same time, by presenting himself as 'terrified', he aligned with those in the class, who might feel terrified themselves but might not want to speak out. Tess echoed his answer in hers and added a further emotional response 'it can be frustrating', (lines 26-27) which suggested how in alignment these two were. In fact, as we see in Appendix 2, Tess knew that Toby had a difficult learning background. This knowledge contributed to his

positioning as ‘fragile learner’. (See also my interviews with Toby and with Tess in Appendix 3.4 and 3.8 respectively). Similarly, Tess responded to the participant who said she would not look (line 23) by echoing what she had said and expanding on it (rather than simply giving her own idea of a suitable response).

Talk about emotions and feelings, indexical of a tutor-counsellor and tutor-enabler identities, was woven throughout the longer extract 3, cited above, overarching Tess’s subsequent movement in and out of different identities. In extract 6 below, I will focus in particular on this propensity to refer to the emotional or affective dimension of learning in ICT. In this extract, Tess is demonstrating how she herself feels about ICT, using a personal narrative to illustrate her points.

Extract 6:

1 Tess:[...] So if you are going to make sure people want to engage in something in new
and perhaps a little bit threatening or frightening, I have to say actually for most
children ICT isn't frightening they mostly dive in because they actually quite enjoy it. |

CP: My son (.) it is scarier when you’re an adult using a computer and you don’t

5 know what you’re doing

Tess: Yes, because everyone else knows what they are doing and you don’t want to
look like a prat.

CP: Even my seven year old knows what she’s doing.

Tess: Yeah, and it makes you feel this small you know (.) |my husband knows how to

10 make me feel this small ((indicates with a gesture)) because he's an ICT expert...the trouble is that he assumes that I know things he knows, so I will say "how did I do this" and he will go, "oohhhhhh its easy"... don't ever say "oohhhhhh its easy" in that tone, you make someone feel bad, like that ((indicates with her thumb and forefingers close together)), they don't want to listen at that, and then they go "click,

15 click, click - now you see how easy that was?"

CPs: ((Laugh))

Tess: And you sort of look at them and think "where's the ice pick?"

CPs: ((Laugh))

Tess: You just feel so frustrated and angry

In this brief exchange, we see that Tess used an emotive adjective when she told the TAs how to help children deal with any topic that was new and 'frightening' (line 2) and she again used at least 4 expressions of feeling, along with other non-verbal resources, when she narrated the story of how she was made to feel small by her 'IT expert' husband: 'don't want to look a prat' (lines 6 -7), 'it makes you feel this small' (line 9), 'makes someone feel bad' (line 13) and 'you just feel so frustrated and angry' (line 19). Overall, Tess seemed to straddle the worlds of the FE classroom, the primary classroom, even the family world and the local life world here when she alluded to feeling and emotion.

Apart from this use of emotive terms and non-verbal cues, Tess's use of evaluative mood adjuncts such as 'perhaps', 'a bit' and attitudinal epithets 'threatening' or 'frightening' (line 2), her use of mental processes (Halliday, 1994) such as 'want' (line 1) and her use of low

modality in the conditional ‘if’(line 1), all index a persona who wants to present themselves as less authoritative, in terms of Halliday’s interpersonal meaning (1994:191), one who wants to mitigate the institutional power invested in them being a tutor within further education by hedging. The use of evaluative indexicals and reference and predication in the presentation of identity, especially in narrative-in-interaction, is discussed in Wortham (2001). This kind of self-presentation can be seen as part of a power mitigation strategy, as discussed in 4.7.1.

6.2.2.2 *Silence or only speaking when invited to*

One participant could be seen to echo this anxiety about ICT while at the same time indexing the response of others, that is, ventriloquating (Wortham, 2001:66) a general adult fear of new technology in line 4 and giving an example from her own family life world in line 8, when she responded to Tess by mentioning her daughter knowing more than she did. The evaluative indexical ‘even’ signified her discomfort at this reverse in the power structure of families.

St: Even my seven year old knows what she’s doing (line 8)

While Toby and at least one other student mirrored the ‘fragile learner’ positioning set up by Tess, through their responses, and in their replies offered their own voice, other class participants responded to Tess by not engaging in this discussion at all. I noted in my field notes at the time that some of the participants were confident with ICT therefore were not being addressed by Tess as ‘anxious’. However, there were others, such as Heidi, who did not join in this more general whole class discussion for other reasons of their own.

There were also some participants who did not take part in the whole class talk voluntarily when Tess adopted a tutor identity, except to respond to an invitation to talk. For example, on another occasion, on 10 March 2009, extract 11, Raj (line 4) and Mandi (line 3) responded when Tess called upon them as bilingual speakers, to talk about their code switching practices in Bengali and English specifically. Raj and Mandi did, however, volunteer responses when Tess adopted a more egalitarian identity, for example, later in the same extract, when Tess was discussing language borrowing, they volunteered information, both for Tess and class another participant. (See data analysis, section 6.2.3: extract 11). Ined, who was not a speaker of Bengali, however, did not take part, perhaps because she was not called upon specifically or because she did not speak Bengali. However, Ined did take part in a whole class session later, on yet another occasion on 21 April 2009, cited here in extract 7, when she volunteered a story about her daughter being afraid of maths at school. The class were involved in a feedback session on strategies for doing mental maths. At that point in the session, Tess was calling on people to volunteer strategies for doing or explaining subtraction. They were talking specifically about the strategy of always starting from or going back to where the pupil is confident and building on that. Ined offered the example of her daughter. At the end of the exchange, when Tess summarised the strategy, another class participant reinforced what she had said by referring to her own daughter.

Extract 7:

1 Ined: I have got an example here.

Tess: Yeah. Ined, do you feel confident enough to write on the board?

Ined: No, not now.

Tess: No, I won't put you on the spot, it's hard enough trying to think and to explain
5 what you are doing.

Ined: I can compare to my daughter and she's struggling for maths and um she's
crying in her lessons and then I don't know how can I ..

Tess: Yeah, how can you explain it to her.

Ined: My son helped me for that and now she run[s] by everything [by him] and the
10 teacher is (helpful) but still she is crying

Tess: This is because she has gotten frightened now, she now has a fear of maths.
What you have to do is maybe take her back to something that's safe and she feels
confident in and then work her back up to the thing that scares hers.

CP: My daughter was like that, and [it] was purely because she wasn't confident with
15 certain things.

In this extract, Ined was responding but not directly to a comment. She was offering her example as feedback but also as a more general part of the discussion on strategies. Her first comment (line 1) was a response to Tess's request for more strategies. However, her actual example of her daughter's behaviour was more like an example of someone who needs specific types of explanation which she is unclear about. Tess asked her if she was confident to write up an example on the board, (line 2-3), perhaps indicating that she was aware of Ined's lack of confidence about her English. (Ined had mentioned to the researcher that she was shy about using English in class: informal communication, field notes). Relevance to class participants' private agendas might also have been a factor influencing their participation in this discussion of anxieties around the use of ICT and Maths.

To conclude therefore, it appeared that, in my study, when participants were positioned as ‘fragile’ and emotional, some echoed this positioning from one turn to the next and within a topic or subtopic by responding as ‘fragile’ and emotional. At the same time, other participants seemed to give responses that accorded with their own agendas and experiences and Tess indeed responded to these agendas in her feedback. Moreover, there was evidence of conditional participation and even non-participation, which may or may not have changed over time, supporting the hypothesis that class participants were actively engaged in the communication and had agency to contribute in their own way or not contribute at all. (This has been discussed previously and in section 4.4.2. Again, there was evidence of how voices interanimated each other. It was not simply Tess initiating, the class participants responding and Tess giving feedback as has been traditionally suggested in research on interactions in formal educational settings.

6.2.2.3 Shifting backwards and forwards between ‘tutor’ and ‘old timer’ identities- participants responding as knowledgeable newcomers

Extract 8:

1 Tess: [In terms of classroom planning it means that kind of prevents people messing around going to dead ends. [What else was important?]

CPs: Not going on adult sites?

Tess: Yes, so if you are working with children it means they are not as likely to be
5 going off on things you don't want them to, they are not going to type something into Google then come up with something completely inappropriate..

CPs: Like naked Barbies ... ((Laugh)) |

Tess: So, why else is it important?|

In extract 8, Tess could be observed shifting her identity backwards and forwards between ‘tutor’ and ‘old timer’ when she switched between talk about the college classroom and the primary classroom and between moving on the session (as ‘tutor’ to ‘student’) and passing on her experience as a primary teacher (as ‘old timer’ to the ‘newcomers’). In extract 8, the identity of ‘old timer’ was indexed through Tess’s reference to ‘them’ and ‘they’ as ‘children’ and ‘you’ as TAs (rather than ‘students’). Tess’s reference to classroom planning in line 1-2 could be signalling talk about the primary classroom and an ‘old timer’ identity as she seemed to be recommending good practice, based on her experience of how to keep children engaged in a task by planning carefully what they will be doing. However, when she asked the more general question ‘What else was important’ in line 2, Tess then moved the participants on to the next point: she moved back to ‘doing being a tutor’

The participant’s reference to ‘not going on adult sites’ (line 3) with its reference to the children/adult dichotomy seemed to echo the previous talk about the primary classroom, as did the final remark ‘like naked Barbies’, (line 7) which referenced in jocular mode what was considered inappropriate for children to look at on the internet. The creative play indulged in by the students here, which linked the world of the further education class with that of the primary classroom, can also be understood in terms of “the space of freedom that is the space of play between ‘figured worlds’, which is “the space of the author” (Holland, [1998]2001:238), developing on the idea of Bakhtin (1981) on the juxtaposing of worlds,

leading to interanimation of voices This move on the part of the participants back to the primary classroom by referring to children looking on inappropriate adult sites stimulated Tess to respond in the same vein. She echoed them by positioning herself as ‘old timer’ to ‘knowledgeable newcomer’ when talking about this primary classroom issue.

6.2.2.4 *Adopting combined identities through the telling of personal narratives*

Tess did not only position herself as ‘tutor counsellor’ and the class participants as ‘fragile’ in this session on ICT. Through her two stories, firstly, the narrative telling of her personal experience as embarrassed wife being made to feel small by her IT expert husband for her lack of IT knowhow (previous extract 6) and secondly, a narrative account of her experience as a child, humiliated by her PE teacher (extract 9 below) she was also positioning herself as ‘fragile’ and by so doing, perhaps constructing solidarity as ‘fellow adult’. In her stories, Tess seemed to be presenting herself as a survivor, who ultimately did not succumb to being bullied, who found a way to stand up for herself and take something from the experience. Here, I am using Wortham’s (2001) framework for analysing identity processes in narratives, in relation to the story world. This is discussed in chapter 4. In extract 6, the fact that the story about the novice wife character made to feel small by the IT expert husband character was told from the point of view of a firsthand witness gave the telling validity, in the storytelling event. The teller indicated this through the way that events and entities were identified and referenced as personal and immediate, through the use of possessive pronoun ‘my husband’, personal pronoun ‘me’(line 9) and the use of ‘constructed dialogue’ (Tannen 2007:112), voicing the different and ‘hypothetical’ positions in the story (line 11) :

‘.because he’s an ICT expert...the trouble is that he assumes that I know things he knows, so I will say "how did I do this" and he will go, "oohhhhhh its easy" (9-11)

Nevertheless, the narrative presents the wife character as fighting back, albeit in retrospect, and to another audience, positioning herself half in the story world and half in the storytelling world. This ‘fighter’ identity can be seen in what Bakhtin (1981) calls the ‘refracted’ nature of the stance taken by Tess towards the topic of ICT: firstly, in the mockery expressed in her ‘carnavalesque’ (Bakhtin, 1993), onomatopoeic ‘click, click, click’, to suggest the attitude of indifferent husband character and secondly, in the creatively ‘constructed’ quote (Tannen, 2007) from a potential murderer looking for a weapon in ‘where’s the pickaxe’:

they go "click, click, click - now you see how easy that was?"

Sts: ((Laugh))

T: And you sort of look at them and think "where’s the ice pick?"

Sts: ((Laugh)) (lines 14-17)

Tess’s fellow adult, tutor-enabler/ old timer identities were evidenced again later, in the episode shown in extract 9, through the survivor narrative of herself as the child, humiliated by her PE teacher but fighting back through reflection, by recognising she could do sport and also by learning from it how not to teach. Most of this story takes place in the storytelling event, with the narrated event hidden behind it. This fragmentary nature of conversation narrative is discussed by Georgakopoulou (2008). These stories were referred to as ‘small

stories'. The embeddedness and multi-layered nature of changes in 'footing', occurring especially in narrative, discussed by Goffman (1981) has similarities to this.

Extract 9:

1 Tess: [...] 'It's what my PE instructor managed to completely do the opposite of
because (.) you know (.) I hate being shouted at and being shouted at to try harder
when I was trying my very best made me completely switch off sport, but sports were
always designed for people with advanced sporting skills. If you were someone like
5 me and needed to go back to remedial classes, I needed to be allowed to do different
kinds of sporting exercises umm and I know that if I have the right kind of sporting
training I can actually do sports but I completely walked away from all of that (.)
when I was a kid (.) because of the experiences I had. So how you deliver and how
you set up your activities is actually really really important because it
10 could make the difference between them becoming a scientist or not, or becoming a
writer or not. So just remember those feelings

This story had all the hallmarks of a narrative in which particular identities were constructed for a purpose, within the interaction. Adopting Wortham's (2001) framework, firstly the story was told from the point of view of a first-hand witness, with high epistemic modality, which made it more believable, therefore powerful, in that it was her own story, or so the audience was led to suppose. Secondly, the way particular entities, events and characters were referenced and described, for example, the near repetition of 'being shouted at and being shouted at to try harder', (line 2) which contrasted with 'trying my very best', (line 3) indexed

a particular position vis-à-vis the characters in the story world, herself as child trying to do her best in a subject she had difficulties with and the PE teacher as insensitive monster, expecting the impossible. Thirdly, in the character portrayal, she presented herself as someone who had been completely misread by her PE teacher. Fourthly, the external evaluative comments in the storytelling event, indicated her ‘refracted’ (Bakhtin, 1981) stance towards the experience and her transference of the negative learning experience to an understanding of good and bad teaching practice. She suggested this first with reference to school sports being ‘designed for people with advanced sporting skills’ (line 4), which she didn’t have and then in the present telling of the past event, in which she portrayed herself as someone who had survived the experience through reflecting on it and using it to illustrate the consequences of bad teaching. (lines 8-11)

One could argue that one purpose of Tess telling these two stories to this audience of TA trainees was to get them to understand, through real life examples, the embodied experience of ‘being made to feel small’ and the consequences this could have on subsequent learning. Another purpose seemed to me to be to show these ‘fragile learners’ that it was possible to overcome these experiences. Finally, Tess’s purpose also seemed to be to suggest that the class participants, as TAs, could take these survival narratives to the children they supported to help them overcome their own bad experiences in education and therefore enable them to succeed. By telling stories that linked different worlds and through narratives adopting identities from these worlds, Tess effectively drew her audience into engaging with ideas and issues that were key to both their present success on their course and their future roles as Teaching Assistants. Negotiating the tensions between past and present selves is a topic

developed by Baynham (2006) in his research with Moroccan migrants' narratives, discussed in section 4.6.3. Similarly, I would argue, Tess' linking of her past and present selves in her story of the PE teacher can be seen as a way of understanding her past experience in a new light, through an interanimation of voices across time (Bakhtin, 1981:291).

6.2.2.5 *Interweaving identities and bringing them together through recourse to emotion*

Extract 10 comes from later on in the same long episode shown in extract 3 above (17 March 2009) in which Tess and the class participants were discussing active learning in the context of reviewing an exercise they did on ICT websites. As 'tutor', tutor-counsellor and tutor-enabler, Tess invited the class participants to reflect on how they felt about using active learning and why. Moreover, as 'old timer', she was suggesting that they use the same methods to help the children they were supporting as Teaching Assistants. Seemingly to engage class participants in what she was doing, she sometimes adopted the identity of 'fellow adult' but this was inevitably interwoven with the other tutor identities mentioned above.

Extract 10:

1 Tess: Why do you learn more by doing it yourself? Experimenting?

Toby: Because you are more hands on.

Tess: Absolutely, learning that goes in ... active learning, it stays with you better.

How many of you found it actually quite a nice morning? (Toby: yeah)(.) you

5 looked like you were enjoying yourself

(.) in fact I could hear giggles at times (.) Why was it fun?

CP: Because we got to play three year old games ((Loud laughing)).

Tess: Exactly, it was limited wasn't it, it was relaxing and again that's the benefit of ICT and education, you just experienced it(.) from the other side (.) as a student(.) you
10 were actually, instead of me just droning on at you for the first part of the morning, you were able to just go and play [...]

Tess: But did you all manage to identify maybe 3 sites that you thought yeah I might go back... Did anyone go "yeah I'm going to go back"?

CPs: Yeah.

15 Tess: You can feel free not to answer because those who said they were nervous this morning how many on the basis of this morning would like to go back?

CPs: Yeah

Tess: Now that I'm really glad to know, I'm really happy with that I do hope you weren't just saying that to please me.

20 CPs: ((Speaking all at once and laughing)).

Tess: That's the whole point though because until you have done it, how do you build up the confidence to tackle it? If you can create that... how did you feel after you had done it? (.) How do you feel at the moment? (..)

CP: Eager To do more ((Other students talk amongst themselves)) ((laughing))

25 Tess: What's the first thing you are going to tell your children or whoever it is you see when you're at home? Is there this instant desire to say, "I can do this?" Yeah? (CP: yeah). [That is how a child feels when you have helped them learn something in class... remember that feeling because what you have just understood is how a student feels when they have something they have been a success at. How motivated

30 does it make you feel, yeah? If you can set up activities in such a way that children achieve that not without being stretched but being stretched beyond the point of being able to succeed, they will feel the way you are feeling right now (.) and That's important (.)

In extract 10, further examples of an emotional focus can be identified. Tess as 'tutor' wanted to know how the students felt about doing a discovery exercise. It seemed important to her that they looked as if they were enjoying themselves, judging by the giggles (line 6) and wanted them to think about why. Encouraging critical reflection in this way suggests that Tess was acting as tutor, modelling a particular method of teaching and learning. However, by emphasising the importance of feeling, Tess seemed to be adopting a more 'tutor-counsellor' identity and positioning the students as 'fragile', but nevertheless successful in overcoming their fears about using ICT through hands-on active learning. In addition, it could be claimed that, by assuming that the participants would prefer this kind of learning to 'her droning on all morning', she was positioning them as being more practically oriented than intellectually oriented and moreover, to be easily bored by talk, that is, as fragile learners perhaps. This positioning was indeed taken up by the participants, who laughed at her exaggerated comment about 'droning on' as if they agreed with its sentiment and, moreover, gave the reason for their enjoyment as being able to play like children in extract 10, line 7:

St: Because we got to play three year old games ((Loud laughing)).

In extract 10, lines 21-28, we can see Tess moving from being ‘tutor-counsellor’ and tutor-enabler’, to ‘old timer’, when she moved from asking about how the class participants felt after the exercise, to talking about similarly enthusiastic pupils in primary classrooms, who overcame their fears and were ‘eager to do more’, thanks to the TA’s help. She emphasised the feeling of success by linking the success that participants would feel when they went home and told their families about their own success with the IT exercise (as ‘tutor’ to ‘fragile student’) and the success that the children would feel when they had managed to do something after overcoming deep barriers to learning (as ‘old timer’ to ‘newcomer’). By comparing success in these two contexts and interweaving identities, Tess was able to link the worlds of FE and primary school and use the feelings engendered in the one world to inform the other world, the class participants (or the trainee TAs) being the pivot between the two. This kind of ‘interanimation’ (Bakhtin’s: 1981) afforded the class participants a space in which to re-consider past experiences in a new light and in so doing, allow new more positive identities or voices to emerge. Transformative identity work was discussed in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). In fact, this emotional focus had been put into central position, bringing the worlds of FE student, TA and Primary pupil together, previously in the final line of extract 9

Tess: [...] so just remember those feelings

and then again in extract 10, line 28 :

Tess: [...] remember that feeling

Some of the class participants clearly engaged with Tess’s exercise, evidenced by their creative replies (line 7), laughter (line 6, 7, 20) and their backchannelling ‘yeah’ (lines 14,16).

At times, participants were adopting almost childlike identities, having fun, making jokes, being creative with language. They were enjoying ‘doing being students’ in this classroom by perhaps taking on the ‘voice’ (Bakhtin, 1981:289) of children in the primary classroom to enable this. This kind of play suggests that the class participants’ engagement was therefore not slavish, nor was it simple compliance with Tess’s agenda. I would argue that group identity was being constructed between Tess and the class participants through these interactions (De Fina, 2006), as evidenced in the egalitarian identities taken up and mirrored through the talk and the creative appropriation of the topics under discussion.

6.2.2.6 *Negotiated identities: Dialogism and interanimation of voices*

The above shifts can be seen as negotiations of identity by Tess in dialogic interaction with the class participants, I have shown how she moved fluidly between different identities: tutor and tutor-counsellor, fellow adult and tutor-enabler and between tutor-counsellor and old timer in order to address and respond to class participants. These negotiations were expressed through the use of different linguistic and other semiotic resources. Even small shifts in grammar, such as a shift in pronoun use, indicated a shift in positioning. The tiny move from ‘I’ to ‘we’ within the following utterance shows clearly how this negotiation was achieved, where Tess shifted from ‘I’ for the act of suggesting, a leadership move, to a more inclusive ‘we’ for the act of discussing, a more egalitarian move, within the same turn.

Tess: ‘Now what were the advantages or what did I suggest or we discuss were the advantages of doing that’ (extract 4 lines 9-10).

6.2.2.7 *Identities situated within the talk, emerging from the talk and stimulating further talk.*

The emergent quality of the identities being constructed in my study has been discussed in relation to post-structuralist/post-modern understandings of identity in section 4.5.2. To illustrate this quality, I return here to the example of the narrative told by Tess about 'being made to look small' (extract 6). The identity of 'fellow adult' was manifested in the telling of the story in which the main character was Tess, under the control of another more powerful character, her husband, making her 'feel small'. The theme of what it was like to be made to feel small emerged directly from the talk about adults feeling scared around new technology. Tess's personal narrative was triggered by a class participant talking about her son and about adults being scared of using a computer because they don't know what to do. (lines 4-5) One idea seemed to lead to the next. Tess took up that idea and added to it the embarrassment of looking 'like a prat' (line 7). The use of such a colloquial term 'prat' indexed the egalitarian nature of this sequence of exchanges between fellow adults.

As a result of this personal narrative, in constructing an identity as both fellow adult and victim of someone else's domineering attitude who nevertheless fought back, she successfully managed to get across the idea of how and why not to make someone feel small. By drawing on resources from a family life world that she and the class participants all shared, thus straddling the different worlds of education and local life world, she was able to use these resources to make a point about 'not making nervous students feel bad', which the participants could both apply to themselves and the children in their charges in the primary classroom. By combining identities of 'adult', 'old timer' and 'tutor' she was able to help them think about the emotional aspect of learning when they were working as TAs.

6.2.3 *Data analysis section 3: 10 March 2009. Long extract 11. Narrative in interaction between ‘fellow adults’*

This final long extract was taken from the session on literacy and language in the National Curriculum. (10th March 2009- Literacy and the National Curriculum Strategy: issues with learning to write). It was a feedback session on the issues related to learning to write.

Although the topic was about ‘writing’, what emerged was a discussion between class participants about spoken language and code switching practices. In this episode, we can see how Tess moved fluidly between the identities of tutor and fellow adult. The enactment of the identity of ‘fellow adult’ was most clearly accomplished through the use of personal narrative and ‘small stories’ (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008), where resources from local life worlds outside the institutions of primary and further education were drawn on. It can be seen that the identity of ‘fellow adult’ emerged from the talk itself, even though a ‘default’ tutor-student relationship (Richards, 2006, talks about a default identity) framed the episode. Tess adopted a tutor identity to open and close the topic as well as to move the topic on (Richards, 2006). Underpinning the identity of ‘fellow adult’ during the talk, a ‘tutor’ identity was also revealed through the kind of linguistic resources employed. Thus there was a certain ambiguity in the way that identities emerged and were juxtaposed, reflecting the constant tension that existed between the institutional ‘authoritative’ centripetal forces and the local, peripheral or centrifugal forces of this particular class in this particular time and place.

The long episode shown below in extract 11 started when Tess introduced the sub topic of language, as part of the session on issues with writing. ‘Knowledge about Language’ (KAL) is one of the topics outlined in the National Literacy Strategy (1998). At the start of the

discussion, Tess, 'doing being a tutor', established the topic boundaries by checking understanding of the terms: 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) and 'English as Additional Language' ⁶(EAL). She introduced the topic in the context of issues related to writing in different languages, by asking an information question to those who had 'English as Additional Language'. In this extract, Tess and some of the class participants contributed their own stories of switching languages or codes. In so doing, they were exchanging anecdotes about their lived experience as 'fellow adults'. However, Tess seemed to be regulating the interaction by summarising and moving the topic on where necessary, thus maintaining a 'tutor' identity at the same time as one of 'fellow adult'. The post-modern understanding of identity as being 'multiple' is discussed by Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004).

Extract 11 (long extract from which smaller extracts are taken below)

1 Tess: If I put ESL/EAL ((writing on board)) (.) have you all got your heads around
that now yeah (.) English as another language /English as a second language (.) what
happens (.) often they'll be brought up in Britain they speak really as any other native
British person but because they're speaking another language as well sometimes the
5 grammar or some of the spelling peculiarities of their other language will affect the
writing in English and I'd be awfully interested to know those of you who've got
English as a second language (.) to ask..(addressing EAL students vaguely) do you ever
find that because you are an English speaker when you are writing in your other
language, English grammar affects the quality of the other language or do
10 you know because you never got anyone to read your writing in ..

⁶ I have changed what Tess said here. She used the term 'English as **Another** Language'. However, the term used in the literature is English as an Additional Language'. (Cf. Roberts, 1997)

Raj: To be honest (.) I can't write Bengali I can only speak but I can't write ...

Tess: So it wouldn't be an issue for you because you have never really tried to do it

Mandi: I write Bengali

15 Tess: Do you ever get mixed up between English and Bengali

Mandi: Not really

Amy: How do you write your notes then do you write your notes in English because it always baffles me (.) when I was in college before we had this discussion (.) if I was

20 to speak Spanish and you're speaking to me in English, do I comprehend things in my

mind as Spanish and do I write things in Spanish and then convert them back into

English and go round in a circle like that so when you're speaking to me do I get them

into my head and understand them in Spanish and convert them into English do you

know what I mean

Emmy: (.) Can I say something (.) there's a Polish little girl living across the road

25 from me (.) she's 7 and she will speak English ...if her mum or dad comes past she

calls out in Polish (.) do you speak to your mum and dad in English she says no never

always in Polish and when she comes out she always speaks English to other people=

Amy: It's really hard to comprehend

Emmy: = Teaching me Polish ...time for me

30 Tess: When someone is truly bilingual from what I understand it they can think and

write in both languages and they just switch .It's not something they think of (.)

sometimes you get someone who is bilingual but occasionally (.) the other language

will affect how they are writing so you might get an odd bit of grammar which is not

English grammar (.) I'm very interested to know whether (.) if someone puts English

35 grammar into their Bengali

Raj: (If) I say it in English I can't say it in Bengali (.) depends what I'm saying (.)

Totally different

Amy: That's the broken English bit in my mind babbling away in some language

blblblbl oh yeah ... (name of city) college blblblblbl ((general laughter))

40 Tess: [Isn't this interesting how much of English is the most bastardised language in
the world (.) it is full of other people's languages (mm) so for instance you might talk
about (.) someone being very chic (.) well that is a French word but we use the French
word because there just isn't an English word that conveys all the connotations (.) all
the nuances the ways that words makes you feel (.) chic says it better so we absorb the
45 word into our dialect but in France they get very irritated because so many western
English words have been absorbed into French use

Mandi: In Bengali it's the same as well (.) we say 'chair' and 'table'

CP: Would you say chair and table if Bengali was your one and only language

Mandi: Oh yea this is [how it is] in Bangladesh ⁷

50 Amy: we've got Norwegians (.) I'm on at night time I do online gaming and stuff (.)
most of our group are Norwegian and so when there's 12 Norwegians on and there's
me the lonely Brit comes on (.) they're still babbling away in Norwegian but
sometimes I can understand what they are saying because yeah blblblb then three
English words and I'm like 'hold on English please thank you' oh yeah we just on
55 about such and such always broken it's never

⁷ The word 'Bangladesh' here refers to the country and not to the language.

Tess: |Really fascinating ...whole areaEnglish as a second language because I mean
if you've got someone who's come to this country speaking a different language
learning to write in a different language (.) the issues that are going to be faced are
completely different for some like Raj who is brought up in Britain who went to
60 school in Britain who speaks as a Brit the occasionally little bits of Bangladeshi will
get into her |

CP: Pretty silly I know ... I speak one way and spell one way ... my mum took me to
Newcastle for a few years ...years (.) every time I was out with my friends (they)
picked on me so I learnt to adapt

65 ...sound like them when I was with them and like this when I was with my mum

Tess: Exactly (.) how many of you have a telephone voice (.) ‘
aho::hgo::da::fterno:::n'(extended vowels exaggerated RP accent and intonation) (.)
‘oh it's you’ ([name of city] accent) I can do it now (.) when I first came to [name of
city]I just couldn't do that..([name of city] accent and expression)(.) after years now I
70 can get into the school playground and without thinking about it 'o::right' it's just
become part of my dialect you know but you see when I was little I was born in
Canada I was there till I was 3 and a half and I had a very Canadian accent when I
came home to Scotland but again I got so much chip I quickly acquired a more British
accent although I never quite acquired a border accent

75 CP: (yeah)

Tess: If I am around Canadians even to this day (.) it is unconscious I don't know I' m
doing it

Amy: Yeah(.) I was born in Newcastle (.) all my dad's family are from Newcastle (.)
and when I speak to my granddad on the phone and any of my dad's side of the family
80 and when I get angry, my Geordie accent comes up 'cos I was up north

Tess: I can get aggressive in Geordie

Amy: Yeah and my kids

CP: Obviously being with little children

((CPs talk amongst themselves.))

85 Tess:| I'm sorry but we are running out of time here (.) such a useful discussion I
really wanted to run with it [...]I' m hoping now through this discussion if any of you
are working with children with English as an additional language or English as a
second language it might have given you some ideas or at least some insights [...]that
you may not have had before |

6.2.7.1 *From tutor to fellow adult and back to tutor*

‘Doing being a tutor’: At the start of the extract, Tess seemed to clearly be in control of the talk, that is, the turns she took could be seen as those of a ‘tutor’ following the teacherly IRF sequence, initiating a specific response about writing in two languages and later clarifying what the student had said in her Feedback . We see this pattern in Extract 12 below:

Extract 12 (taken from long extract, Extract 11)

- 1 Tess: [...] do you ever find that because you are an English speaker when you are writing in your other language, English grammar affects the quality of the other language or do you know because you never got anyone to read your writing in .. [I]
- Raj: To be honest (.) I can't write Bengali I can only speak but I can't write ... [R]
- 5 Tess: So it wouldn't be an issue for you because you have never really tried to do it' [F]

'Doing being a fellow adult':

However, the next sequence is accomplished in a different way. Firstly, the sequence was initiated by a student, Mandi. Tess's response was therefore an R, the kind of further information request move a fellow adult might make. An assumption about 'mixing languages' underpins her response. Mandi responded [F] as a fellow adult might, by disagreeing with this assumption as follows:

Extract 13:

- 1 Mandi: I write Bengali [I]
- Tess: Do you ever get mixed up between English and Bengali [R: further information request, with underlying assumption]
- Mandi: Not really [F: disagreeing with the assumption]

6.2.7.2 Sharing personal narratives as a communicative practice amongst 'fellow adults'.

Although Tess's 'fellow adult' identity was found to be tinged with that of the default 'tutor',

her adoption of the identity of ‘fellow adult’ and her expression of interest in language switching, in extract 12, triggered more informal conversation between class participants, prompting the sharing of personal, often ‘fragmented’ (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) narratives between them as ‘fellow adults’. If they had been performing tutor/student identities, the exchange of stories would have been primarily between them and Tess.

These personal narratives offered by both Tess and several of the class participants indexed particular stances on this topic and values being expressed about language and code switching, through alignment with particular social groups. Moreover, the participants were ventriloquating, in Bakhtin’s (1981:362) terms, the social groups and worlds from which they came, in such a way as to express their own stance towards the topics under discussion through a particular alignment to one or other social group. I use this term ‘ventriloquating’ here in the way it is used by Wortham (2001). Using Wortham’s framework, I could show how identities were constructed through the way events and items were referred to, that is, through the details given. I could also analyse how voices were expressed through the use of evaluative indexicals such as adverbials and to ventriloquate particular group membership. Meanwhile, the telling was made more credible for the audience through the reference to firsthand experience. The identities could be said to be rendered more convincing through engagement strategies such as quotation and performance devices such as stress, repetition, prosody and body language. Examples can be seen in the short extracts below. For example, Tess volunteered a story comparing her ‘posh person’ telephone voice and her ‘local girl’ voice at the school gate.

Extract 14:

1 Tess: (.) How many of you have telephone voice (.) 'aho::hgo::da::fterno:::n'
(extended vowels exaggerated RP accent and intonation) (.) 'oh it's you' ([name of
city] accent)' I can do it now (.) when I first came to [name of city] I just couldn't do
that ([name of city] accent and expression) (.) after years now I can get into the school
5 playground and without thinking about it 'o::right' it's just become part of my dialect
you know

In the telling of this personal narrative to these students, not only was she sharing her own lived experience of service telephone calls and school gates, but she was also expressing a particular stance regarding language use, namely, that everyone had a repertoire of language resources which they drew on in different domains of social life, and in different channels of communication, with different interlocutors, in response to local situations. The words she used indexed her membership of a certain professional group of Further Education Tutors but also had the flavour of other contexts, other people's voices. "The words became her own when she populated it with her own intentions, her own accent, adapting it for her own semantic and expressive intention" Bakhtin (1981:294). To do this, Tess used linguistic features that indexed social class and language codes associated with regional dialects. Interestingly, her stance was informed by her interpretation of the National Curriculum Strategy, which is actually cast in narrower variationist terms⁸. The fact that she exaggerated the RP accent implied that she was distancing herself from it, suggesting it was not her usual

⁸ Variationist Linguistics is concerned with the interaction of linguistic and social systems rather than meaning and process, which is associated with Interactional Sociolinguistics (Heller, 2009) <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract;jsessionid=464C88320EC44EE09073AE89DE524AF0.journals?fromPage=online&aid=2916464#>, accessed on 20/05/2013

accent but one that she ‘put on’ to construct a particular identity. This move would position her as being in the same social category as the other participants in terms of class, that is, she was ventriloquating by using working class versus middle class ‘voices’.

Apart from the stance taken within the story to make a point and express identity and alignment through ‘voicing’, the ‘telling’ of a story was also important in getting the audience to listen and engage. Tess performed the telling of this story by actually using an RP accent ‘aho::hgo::da::fterno:::n’ (line 1) and direct quotes of what she might say, though not necessarily what she actually said. Tannen’s (2007) notion of constructed dialogue is also relevant here as discussed in chapter 4. In so doing, Tess succeeded in engaging her audience, evidenced by it being a prompt for other participants to tell their own stories on the same topic of code switching and language history. Talking about her own experience also added authenticity to the telling, making it more believable for the audience, therefore more engaging. Here, Wortham’s (2001: 74) notion of epistemic modalisation is relevant.

If class participants were positioned as ‘fellow adult’ or ‘fellow parent’, they tended to respond as such, that is, they tended to mirror this positioning. This seemed to be how the other class participants interpreted Tess’s moves as they proceeded to contribute their own stories about their language experiences. For example, Amy asks a question about her own practice of translating between Spanish and English at college in extract 15. By asking the two bilingual Bengali/English speaking participants, Raj and Mandi her question, Amy seemed to be positioning herself as a ‘fellow adult’ grappling with the dilemmas of bilingualism, which she imagined they were doing, along with all the other participants in the

discussion, including Tess. Amy presented herself as a user of at least two languages: Spanish and English, who was curious about some of the complexities inherent in translating from one language to another. In addition, she also presented herself as highly communicative in comparison with some of her peers who were silent, or only spoke when spoken to. Amy reflexively positioned herself (Davies and Harré, 1990:48), presenting herself as forthright in the classroom talk. This tallies with what she told me about herself in the interview, namely, that she was used to discussion and argumentation in a class, due to her previous experience as an Access to Higher Education student (Appendix 2: Interview with Amy, October, 2009).

Extract 15 below shows Amy expressing this curiosity:

Extract 15:

1 Amy: ‘How do you write your notes then do you write your notes in English because
it always baffles me (.) when I was in college before we had this discussion (.) if I
was to speak Spanish and you're speaking to me in English, do I comprehend things in
my mind as Spanish and do I write things in Spanish and then convert them back into
5 English and go round in a circle like that so when you're speaking to me do I get them
into my head and understand them in Spanish and convert them into English do you
know what I mean’.

The third bilingual Arabic/English speaking participant, Ined, did not take part in this discussion even though Amy had opened the topic out to include crossings between languages other than Bengali-English. However, there was another surprising ‘fellow adult’ contribution

from Emmy about language switching practices, stemming from her own local life world, surprising because at other times she did not speak much in class (extract 16).

Extract 16:

- 1 Emmy: (.) Can I say something (.) there's a Polish little girl living across the road
from me (.) she's 7 and she will speak English ...if her mum or dad comes past she
calls out in Polish (.) do you speak to your mum and dad in English she says no never
always in Polish and when she comes out she always speaks English to other people=
5 Amy: It's really hard to comprehend
Emmy: = Teaching me polish ...time for me

Emmy's story about codeswitching drew on characters from her street, the Polish girl who lived across the road and her mum and dad. She also included herself as interlocutor with the girl, providing first hand proof of the reliability of her story. Again here, I am drawing on Wortham's (2001) notion of epistemic modalisation or first-hand proof in narratives. By telling this story, Emmy positioned herself as a co-discussant with what she considered to be a relevant story to tell about language switching. Emmy's story contained 3rd person reference to several characters: the little Polish girl, her mum and dad and it was couched in the habitual present alluding to the little Polish girl's habitual language practices. It contained particular orientation details regarding where she lived and what language she spoke to whom and direct quote to give voice to the different protagonists. There were also three evaluative indexicals in her brief narrative: two internal evaluations in the words of the 7 year old girl, who 'never' (line 3) speaks to her mum and dad in English, 'always' (line 4) in Polish, and one external

evaluation in the words of the narrator, Emmy, who reported that the girl ‘always’ speaks English to other people. By using these three definitive adverbs of time, she seemed to be making a point about exact boundaries of use between one language and another, expressing some amazement that this should be so.

Although Emmy clearly felt that she had something relevant to contribute to the discussion as a ‘fellow adult’, she did not seem as confident as Amy about her entitlement to speak as she prefaced her account with a discourse request marker ‘Can I say something’ (line 1) as she made a claim to take the floor. In doing so, she appears to have been adopting a position of ‘student’ for Tess, as ‘tutor’, asking permission from her to join the discussion or she might have been trying to take the floor from Amy, who was dominating it at that moment. Amy’s generalised reply directed to everyone in line 5, ‘It’s really hard to comprehend’, shows that this was an ongoing discussion in which fellow adults were grappling with difficult ideas about how bilingualism works. These stories again seemed to emerge out of the sequence of utterances and were not orchestrated as part of a classroom conversation, with Tess, ‘doing being the tutor’.

Other participants continued to tell stories about their language experiences, in response to each other or to Tess, further illustrating their position of ‘fellow adults’. For example, in extract 17, Amy recounted a story of her online gaming experience with other gamers from Norway.

Extract 17:

- 1 Amy: we've got Norwegians (.) I'm on at night time I do online gaming and stuff (.)
most of our group are Norwegian and so when there's 12 Norwegians on and there's
me the lonely Brit comes on (.) they're still babbling away in Norwegian but
sometimes I can understand what they are saying because yeah blblblbl then three
5 English words and I'm like 'hold on English please thank you' oh yeah we just on
about such and such always broken it's never

Interestingly, in this story, she positioned herself as 'lonely Brit' (line 3), implying that the Norwegians were being a bit mean to be talking in a foreign language with her. At the same time, by telling stories about her online gaming, she was positioning herself in a particular, perhaps intriguing way, as part of a group of 'online gamers on an English speaking server', with their own particular beliefs, values and motivations, at the same time, putting her own 'accent' (Bakhtin, 1981:362) on the telling, for her audience in the classroom. Again the use of quote 'hold on English please thank you' (line 5) ventriloquated her membership of a group, an English person, as victim, but also expressing disapproval that English, the dominant language of the internet, was not being spoken. For Amy, the Norwegians' English is 'always broken', they 'babble away in Norwegian', and don't speak properly 'blblbl'. (lines 3-4). Here, her value system, as part of an English speaking group with a particular view about what constitutes 'legitimate' language (Bourdieu, 1991), is being revealed. This view might suggest what Bourdieu (1993:163) refers to as 'collusion'. She implies that there is only one way of speaking English 'correctly', any other way is 'broken'.

In extract 18 below, another class participant talked about switching between Geordie and Bristol when she lived for a while in Newcastle, depending on whether she was speaking to her friends or her mum. She adopted a much more equivocal stance towards code switching, presenting herself as embarrassed because her spelling was different from her accent, however still suggesting that the way she spoke, her Geordie accent, was somehow incorrect whereas the way she wrote in Standard English, was the correct version. Again, this student's attitude could be seen as 'collusion', legitimising Standard English and delegitimizing her own Geordie accent.

Extract 18:

1 CP: Pretty silly I know speak one way and spell one way my mum took me To
Newcastle for a few years ... years (.) every time I was out with my friends picked on
me so I learnt to adapt sound like them when I was with them and like this when I was
with my mum

5

In her identity as 'fellow adult', interested in language switching, Tess told the class participants her own language history and her position of 'adapting to 'fit in''. She volunteered her own language experience of coming to Scotland from Canada. This is shown in extract 19 below. Here, she is making the point that switching becomes the norm. This evaluative comment could have been introduced to counteract her co-discussants' slight anxieties and the rather prescriptive comments about code switching illustrated above. Her story was again directly emergent from the surrounding talk, serving as an addendum to her story about her telephone voice in extract 14. Again she foregrounds the idea of having a language repertoire.

Extract19:

- 1 Tess: It's just become part of my dialect you know but you see when I was little I was born in Canada 9(.) I was there till I was 3 and a half and I had a very Canadian accent when I came home To Scotland but again I got so much chip I quickly acquired a more British accent although I never quite acquired a border accent' =
- 5 Tess: = If I am around Canadians even to this day (.) it is unconscious I don't know I'm doing it

The details she gave about her accent history all signified a certain attitude taken towards language variation and change. She presented a view of language as a resource, a repertoire of voices accumulated over time and in response to changing circumstances. In presenting this perspective on language use, she was voicing her professional group but also making her words her own through the telling of her own experience, coloured by her own language history, which was not so unproblematic in that she presented herself as an outsider 'having to fit in' throughout her life. In doing so, however, she was in fact at the same time aligning with some of the students, who had travelled around, as she herself had done, and experienced similar language issues. Although the story emerged spontaneously out of the conversation, it could be argued that it was serving as a teaching resource for Tess as 'tutor', whereas the class participants did not seem aware of the sociolinguistic and ideological implications of their stories.

This story also served the function of showing these participants that Tess was somewhat of an outsider like many of them were, in being from another place, outside the city where my

study took place. By sharing her world with theirs, she was creating a group identity (De Fina (2006), which included them and herself, of people with interesting language histories. In general, in the telling of these personal lived language experiences, she was putting forward the idea that everyone had a language repertoire, no matter who they were and what social, geographical or even linguistic background they came from. Tess employed evaluative indexicals such as ‘just’ (line 1), ‘quickly’ (line 3) and ‘never quite’ (line 4) above, to provide evaluative content. For example; ‘just’ in ‘it’s just become part of my dialect you know’ (line 1) signified that adopting an accent was simple, ‘quickly’ signified the urgency she felt in needing to change her accent to fit in and ‘never quite’ suggested that, even though she lived in the Borders (of Scotland) for a long time, she never felt part of it, never identified with it entirely. However, the notion of ‘language repertoire’ is a term used in the National Curriculum for Literacy (1998) to imply that students by the end of their primary education, the students will be proficient, not only in their own variety of language but in the Standard variety, the process of developing this proficiency being presented as natural and unproblematic. Thus, these stories revealed two of Tess’s’ identities in conflict, one identity as ‘fellow adult’ sharing stories of problematic language experience (having to fit in), and another as ‘tutor’, providing the ‘students’ with Knowledge about Language (KAL) (1998). Bakhtin would argue that in presenting her own problematic language experience while discussing the general topic of Language Repertoire, she was voicing her institutional role but also making the words her own (Bakhtin, 1981:294). In doing so, however, she was ‘aligning’ with her students, who had experienced similar language issues. This complex interweaving of stance and alignment is similarly discussed by Baynham (2011) in relation to professional interview data.

These personal narrative comments were clearly a result of what had been said before and what came after and were therefore entirely contingent and part of the moment by moment conversation between fellow adults, albeit polite adults, discussing a semiformal topic in a classroom setting. In extract 20 below, the choice of evaluative terms such as ‘exactly’, anaphoric reference ‘it’, backchannelling such as ‘yeah’ and the continuation of the topic from one turn to the next, as with the reference to the term ‘Geordie’, all show fluid forward and backwards movement across a topic

Extract 20:

1 CP: [...] every time I was out with my friends [they]picked on me so I learnt to adapt sound like them when I was with them and like this when I was with my mum

Tess: Exactly I can do it now (.) when I first came To [name of city]I just couldn't do that..([name of city] accent and expression)(.) after years now I can get into the school
5 playground and without thinking about it 'o::right' (.) it's just become part of my dialect you know but you see when I was little I was born in Canada I was there till I was 3 and a half and I had a very Canadian accent when I came home To Scotland but again I got so much chip I quickly acquired a more British accent although I never quite acquired a border accent

10 CP: (Yeah)

Tess: If I am around Canadians even to this day (.) it is unconscious I don't know I' m doing it

Amy: Yeah_ I was born in Newcastle (.) all my dad's family are from Newcastle (.) and when I speak To my granddad on the phone and any of my dad's side of the family

15 and when I get angry, my Geordie accent comes up cos I was up north

Tess: I can get aggressive in Geordie

The turn by turn collaboration in the building of knowledge can be seen at the end of extract

20. First Tess gave a coda to her story about being from Canada,

T: If I am around Canadians even to this day (.) it is unconscious I don't know I'm doing it

Then, after a 'minimal response 'yeah', Amy continued the code switching discussion thread by volunteering her own experience of talking to her dad's Newcastle branch of the family in Geordie:

Amy: Yeah (.) I was born in Newcastle (.) all my dad's family are from Newcastle (.) and when I speak To my granddad on the phone and any of my dad's side of the family and when I get angry, my Geordie accent comes up cos I was up north

Tess then added to Amy's idea, in her turn, with the stress on 'I' signifying that she was comparing herself to Amy:

Tess: I can get aggressive in Geordie

To summarise, I have shown above how both class participants and Tess contributed to the discussion about language switching and in doing so, they adopted identities as 'fellow

adults', drawing on narratives from their local and family worlds to do so. It could be argued, moreover, that Tess was also using the narratives to demonstrate a point about language repertoire and language as a resource that could be adapted for different purposes and audiences.

6.2.7.3 *From 'fellow adult' back to 'tutor' and with a final 'old timer' comment*

Apart from the stories about language switching, when Tess could be seen as part fellow adult/part tutor, she did adopt from time to time the identity of just 'doing being a 'tutor', as illustrated previously. One example of her enacting this identity can be seen in her use of a summary statement, in extract 21 below. This statement followed Emmy's narrative about the Polish girl. This abrupt move from 'fellow adult' identity to 'tutor' had the effect of closing the topic. Tess moved from personal narrative genre to general comment/summary statement about bilingual writing practices. The general comment genre was indexed by the use of general present tense, the use of impersonal 3rd person and summary of ideas with no specific details relating to a particular setting and no characters as such.

Extract 21:

1 Tess: When someone is truly bilingual from what I understand it they can think and
write in both languages and they just switch .It's not something they think of.....
sometimes you get someone who is bilingual but occasionally the other language will
affect how they are writing so you might get an odd bit of grammar
5 which is not English grammar ...I'm very interested to know whether if someone puts
English grammar into their Bengali'

There was evidence of participant agency within the talk. As ‘tutor’, Tess then moved the conversation back to the original topic of language issues with the development of writing. She did this by going back to her more specific initial question to Raj and Mandi, who were of Bengali heritage. However, to demonstrate the local agency of the participants, as adult students, it is interesting to note even when she is adopting an identity as tutor, participants often did not answer her question as she had anticipated. Here, she had made an assumption that the reply would be about writing. Another assumption she made was that the response would follow the thread, which it did not. There was a curiously impersonal reference to ‘someone’ and ‘their’ at the end of Tess’s previous turn in extract 21 (line 5-6): ‘whether someone puts English grammar into their Bengali’. This appears to be an indirect reference to the two Bengali speakers in the class. What happened next was that Raj responded by talking about her spoken language switching practices between English and Bengali (extract 22)

Extract 22:

1 Raj: (If) I say it in English I can’t say it in Bengali (.) depends what I’m saying (.)
totally different’

Again, performing her identity as ‘tutor’, Tess made a long general comment about language in the next set of exchanges shown in extract 23. She made this comment after Raj’s query referring to spoken English rather than writing (extract 22) and Amy’s negatively evaluative comment on language switching as ‘broken English’, (a prescriptive view not supported by

the curriculum) (presented again here as extract 23 below). Both comments had taken the conversation away from the topics of issues with writing and language as a resource.

Extract 23:

1 Amy: That's the broken English bit in my mind babbling away in some language
blblblbl oh yeah ... (name of city) college blblblbl ((general laughter))

Tess may have decided to take the floor at this point because of these two unexpected contributions. However, re-adopting an identity of ‘tutor’ at this point also allowed her to provide information that could be seen as generally expanding on the National Curriculum Topic of Knowledge about Language (KAL). This may have been for the benefit of the rest of the class participants, who were not taking direct part in the discussion. In her capacity as tutor, she would need to ensure that everyone obtained some benefit from the talk (See extract 24 below).

As tutor, she was able to talk more generally about English as a bastardised language and explain what that meant as seen in extract 24 below. However, this comment unfolded in a complex way. There was evidence of the blending of the voices of ‘tutor’ and ‘fellow adult’ here.

Extract 24:

1 ‘Tess: |Isn't this interesting how much of English is the most bastardised language in the world (.) it is full of other people's languages (mm) so for instance you might talk about

(..) someone being very chic(.) well that is a French word but we use the French word because there just isn't an English word that conveys all the connotations (.) all the nuances the ways that words makes you feel (.) chic says it better so we absorb the word into our dialect but in France they get very irritated because so many western English words have been absorbed into French use’.

In the above extract orienting to the National Curriculum discourse about Knowledge About Language, Tess seemed to be voicing different identities. She achieved this by juxtaposing academic terms such as ‘bastardised’, ‘connotations’, ‘nuances’ and ‘dialect’ with simple lexis and a more emotional focus, ‘interesting’, ‘someone being chic’, ‘the ways that words make you feel’, ‘says it better’ and ‘irritated’. Here, again, in a subtle way, she was straddling the more formal world of education and local lifeworlds of adulthood.

Participants responded to this blending of identities by Tess by citing once more their own experiences of spoken language switching and discussing the topic with each other, giving preference to ‘fellow adult’ identities over student-tutor ones. For example, we can see this in extract 25 below. Mandi talked about the use of English words in spoken Bengali, which was queried by another student who wanted to know if this would be the case if they only used Bengali. Mandi replied that this was even the case when she was actually in Bangladesh. It could be seen here that two participants were negotiating meaning with each other as fellow adults.

Extract 25:

1 Mandi: In Bengali it's the same as well (.) we say 'chair' and 'table'

CP: Would you say chair and table if Bengali was your one and only language

Mandi: Oh yea this is [how it is] in Bangladesh

Again in long extract 11, Tess could be seen adopting a pure tutor identity for the students when she brought the main topic back and moved it on, by mentioning the difference between EAL students (possibly referring to the participant Ined, who didn't take part in this discussion) and ESL students like Raj. As on previous occasions, here she turned the conversation back to her agenda by summarising what had gone before and making a positive evaluative comment on the discussion.

Finally at the end of this collaborative building of knowledge about language experiences where fellow adult identities had prevailed, Tess reclaimed the floor, as 'tutor', to close the discussion, as seen in extract 26. She did this with the closing remark about 'running out of time' and an evaluation of the discussion as 'useful'. This was followed by a justification of why she allowed it to go on so long, namely, to give them some insights that would help when working with children 'with English as another language or English as a second language'. In this final justification, which Tess seemed to be giving for the benefit of the whole class, particularly for those who did not take an active part in the discussion of language, she adopted an identity as 'old timer', positioning them as TA newcomers, as follows:

Extract 26:

1 'I'm sorry but we are running out of time here. such a useful discussion[...] I'm hoping now through this discussion if any of you are working with children with English as another language or English as a second language it might have given you some ideas or at least some insights [...]that you may not have had before.

6.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have analysed how language was used in this adult vocational classroom setting, to construct and negotiate identities according to relationships situated along a continuum of power. I have shown how even in highly constrained classroom activities such as these whole class discussions on curriculum topics, there were signs of individual agency and tutor contingency. I would argue that agency and constraint led to some interesting ambiguities and juxtapositions in terms of identity and positioning, which seemed suggestive of the inevitable tension that occurs between the centre and the periphery within institutional discourse, with language as a site of struggle. I have demonstrated how different language and semiotic resources were used by Tess to adopt different and shifting identities along this continuum, not only for her own institutional purposes but also in response to the class participants themselves.

CHAPTER 7: MEDIATING EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES FOR FUTURE TEACHING ASSISTANTS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus turns to the ways in which Tess, the vocational education tutor in this study, helped the adult learners in her class make sense of the discourses about the role of teaching assistants in primary education, along with discourses about primary level pedagogy and curriculum in the UK and about vocational education. Drawing on my interpretation and analysis of the audio-recordings of everyday talk in the classroom, and on my field notes, I give an account of the discursive strategies employed by Tess in mediating these discourses for the participants in her class. In doing so, I draw on Bakhtin's theorisation of the dynamic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces (1981:272) with Tess, the tutor, negotiating this tension by creatively appropriating the educational discourses and re-contextualising them to fit in with what she saw as the needs of her class in this moment in time and place. I also referred to the notion of stance, defined by Dubois (2007:163) as:

“a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.” (2007:163)

In 7.2, I pick up again the lines of argument first introduced in Chapter 2, where I outlined how the role of the teaching assistant is shaped by particular discourses, in a similar way to the FE tutors in general. I focus here on discourses about the TA role in supporting learning in Primary School, namely, touching on discourses around the National Curriculum, particular

legislation and school policies and planning as part of accountability for learning. In 7.2.1, I offer thick descriptions of 6 different teaching/learning episodes in which Tess can be seen mediating the above discourses in different ways and in 7.2.2, I will consider how Tess actually mediated these discourses for the class participants, showing the specific ways she used language and literacy resources, ‘speaking’ from different identities and in relationships located along a continuum of power, as illustrated in chapter 6.

7.2 Mediating educational discourses:

In chapter 2, I focused on three main institutional discourses that have shaped the role of the Teaching Assistant (TA) in supporting children in Primary Education. These were: i) the discourse about Primary Pedagogy, taken from educational research and interpreted in the Labour government’s National Curriculum Strategy (1999). ii) Included here are new managerial discourses around planning and accountability for learning, which arose in the context of the primary curriculum. (cf. 2.5.2.1); iii) school policy relating to the Children’s Act 2004, outlined in a code of practice, including discourses about inclusion and compliance with legislation on equal rights and equality and diversity (cf. 2.5.2.2). At the time of the study, primary pedagogy was underpinned by research into how children learn best and covered areas such as multisensory learning, phonics, active learning. The Labour Government’s National Curriculum Strategy (1998) was a central pivot around which primary education revolved, with the National Curriculum document as primary text guiding classroom practices. For this reason, in the CACHE curriculum, the National Curriculum provides the central focus to unit 1 of the course for Teaching Assistants. Chapter 5, Table 2

presented an outline of the course. The National Curriculum Strategy (1999) covered all aspects of teaching and learning relating to the subjects identified, with English, Maths and ICT being specifically addressed as core subjects. As I will show in this section, Tess mediated the discourse of the National Curriculum Strategy (NCS) for the group of trainee Teaching Assistants in this study. She did this mostly in relation to how the TAs would support English, Maths and ICT, focussing on aspects that had been identified by the awarding body (CACHE) as being important.

7.2.1 *Topics and discourses in six different teaching/learning sessions*

Here I focus on six different teaching/learning sessions where Tess, the tutor, and the adult learners in her class were engaging with different topics in the curriculum. I have chosen to focus on these particular sessions since they show how different curriculum topics were addressed and how Tess mediated the discourses associated with these topics. These sessions also reveal some of the specific ways in which she drew on different linguistic and textual resources in her repertoire in mediating these discourses. The full transcripts of particular episodes within each of these sessions have been mainly incorporated into a dedicated appendix, linked to this section of the thesis (See Appendix 1). The readers can thus refer to these longer transcripts to get a feel for the discourse context of the shorter extracts discussed in section 7.2.2. My account here draws on my observations and field notes as well as these audio-recordings. Occasionally, it draws on other transcripts, included in other appendices. Reference to these is clearly indicated. The main six long transcripts in Appendix 1 are as follows:

Transcript A: Classroom episode from session focusing on accountability through planning for the National Curriculum (27 January 2009).

Transcript B: Episode from session on pedagogy in primary education supporting the National Curriculum for English (24th February, 2009).

Transcript C: Episode from session on resources, teaching methods and language used in primary education to support National Curriculum Mathematics (31 March, 2009).

Transcript D: Episode from session on SEN legislation and policy relating to primary education (5th May, 2009).

Transcript E: Episode from session on Health and Safety legislation (17th March, 2009).

Transcript F: Episode from session on legislation, code of practice and school policy assignment (13 October, 2009).

7.2.1.1 Episode focusing on accountability through planning for the National Curriculum (27 January 2009)

This episode was held at the beginning of the second session of the course, which took place on 27th January 2009. The topic in the timetable for that day was ‘Planning a Topic’ which had been briefly introduced in the first session the Friday before (20th January 2009).

Planning is a key component of the course as the first assignment requires the students to plan, conduct and evaluate activities relating to the National Curriculum for English, Mathematics and Information and Computer Technology. The episode in Transcript A, (for transcript of episode from this session, see Appendix 1) involved an initial whole class discussion, facilitated by Tess, on the general topic of planning and accountability. Tess initiated the class discussion by asking the class participants why it was important to plan. This occurred just prior to the interaction in Transcript A. In the course of the discussion, Tess

explained how planning was linked to the National Curriculum Strategy and to accountability for learning. She explained the dual purpose of planning: to ensure that pupils' progress and to foster good professional practice. She also noted that professional practice is monitored by OFSTED, the government organisation in charge of quality assurance in schools.

Tess also explained that the particular topics to be covered under 'planning' were laid down in the CACHE Level 2 Certificate for Teaching Assistants Candidate Handbook (page 11) in accordance with the government's National Curriculum Strategy for primary education. Tess mentioned some of the topics to be covered in the sessions on planning over the following weeks: The planning cycle, how to plan, implement and evaluate activities to meet the needs of the pupils, learning outcomes, record keeping, the use of long term and short term planning and the role of the TA in planning and implementing activities. The preliminary discussion in this session involved tutor-led open questioning, with a view to checking given knowledge and to developing National Curriculum knowledge on planning. Class participants were free to add their own queries and questions and all class participants were encouraged to contribute to building knowledge collaboratively. The knowledge resources drawn on were mostly workplace experiences, both those of the tutor and the class participants.

After the initial discussion, part of which is captured in Transcript A, class participants were involved in a group work activity, which was then followed by a whole class feedback session (See Appendix 4.1, for summary and reflections on the planning cycle). The group work activity was a consolidation activity in which small groups had to create a 'planning checklist', based either on an actual example from their work placement or a general example

drawing on the class discussion on planning. In this checklist, the links to the National Curriculum had to be made explicit, using relevant constructs such as Learning Objectives (LOs) and the 'planning cycle' (plan, do, review), which had been introduced earlier.

The ultimate aim of this knowledge- building session was preparation for the first assignment, which required candidates to plan activities in English, Mathematics and ICT, carry out these activities in their work placements and evaluate them. This included describing the planning of each activity, listing the resources needed, identifying the pupil's learning outcomes as well as their own, for each activity and describing how the activity was implemented. They were also required to describe how they would feedback to the teacher on the activities and 'show an understanding of diversity and inclusive practice' (ibid). These criteria are explained in the CACHE Candidate Handbook as P1-P7 as the minimum needed to pass the course. This assignment would be their way of demonstrating knowledge and understanding of the planning cycle as well as of the National Curriculum Strategy as it related to the role of a TA at level 2. To gain a merit, they were also required to explain certain aspects in more detail, how they would 'support pupils to stay on task and concentrate' and 'adapt the activities for pupils with particular needs' and 'include references and a bibliography' (CACHE, 2008:28). Finally, to gain a distinction, they had to consider the role of the TA in supporting teachers. Thus, each level (Pass, Merit, and Distinction) required more knowledge and skill than the last, more detail and greater consideration. In this class, Tess had decided on an essay format, though there were other options. The reason for this decision was that by doing an essay, the class participants could develop their competence in academic literacy. (Informal communication with Tess). This first assignment was due in May 2009, therefore topics

informing the assignment were being introduced early, on 27th January, and would continue to be addressed until 5th May. (See Table 3, Chapter 5).

As the tutor stated in an interview with me, the aim of the session on 27th January 2009 was to ensure that trainee TAs were relatively familiar with the TA role in the planning process and knew what was required and what was not required at Level 2. For the TA Level 2 student, this involved understanding the planning cycle and being able to adapt the plan to meet the needs of a particular student with special educational needs.

In the episode from which Transcript A is taken, the tutor and class participants volunteered ideas on what planning was for, what the benefits were and how planning worked in practice, while Tess, the tutor, typed up notes on the smart board. This electronic literacy practice had a three-fold purpose: to help the students understand the topic by providing a summary, to provide a record of the session and to help those who were absent to catch up.

Prior to the exchanges in long extract A, Tess mentioned various National Curriculum concepts related to planning, such as WILT (What I Learned Today). Just before the long extract started, Tess and the class participants were discussing the benefits of planning. Two benefits were mentioned: firstly, that children would be able to learn effectively, and secondly, that teachers would be able to meet objectives. They discussed National Curriculum learning objectives (LOs), also known as traffic lights and learning outcomes. Tess linked these learning objectives to meeting the needs of individual children (supporting SEN, for

example) and to supporting good behaviour policy, both part of the role of the TA as defined in the CACHE course at level 2.

The identity/ies adopted by Tess in this episode fluctuated. The main identity she assumed in this discussion of planning was that of ‘old timer’ to ‘newcomer’ TAs. She illustrated points using her own professional experience while encouraging the new TA candidates to draw on their new workplace practices wherever possible in order to understand how planning worked in the context of their primary classes and the TA role. A tutor-student identity relationship operated alongside, however, when Tess discussed the need to be accountable and how it could be achieved. In her capacity as FE vocational tutor, she provided knowledge that the vocational students might require, while encouraging them to draw on theirs, to show what they already knew, that is, she was ‘filling in the gaps’ in their TA related knowledge.

The dominant discourse in this session on planning appeared to be the discourse of accountability and the need to be transparent, arising out of the new managerialism, discussed in Chapter 2. Tess was clearly aware of its provenance as she suggested later, during a plenary session on the planning cycle, that students might have come across the ‘planning cycle’ in a business context ‘Plan, do, review’ (Figure 3 below). In the extract, she goes on to discuss the planning cycle in more detail to make it relevant to the class. She said she preferred to call it ‘Plan, do, reflect’ (Figure 4 below) in keeping with the idea of a reflective practitioner. To this end, she had given them the idea of a reflective diary in which they could write their thoughts. During this discussion, she touches on the myriad of initiatives in education and the need to

appraise them in terms of relevance. See Figure 3 and Figure 4 below for two versions of the planning cycle.

Figure 3: Planning Cycle (Business Model)

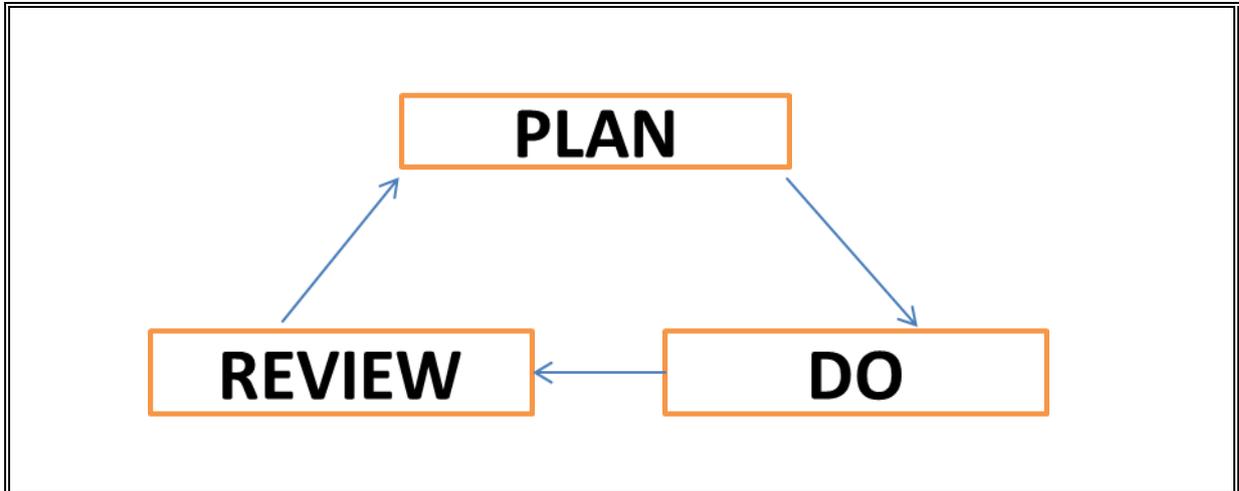
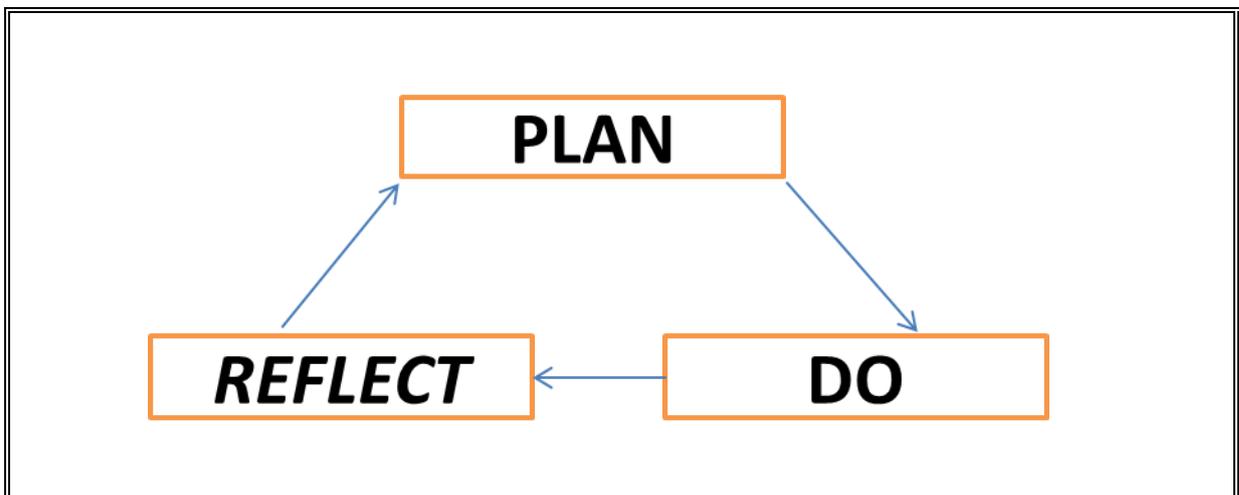


Figure 4: Planning Cycle (Tess' Version)



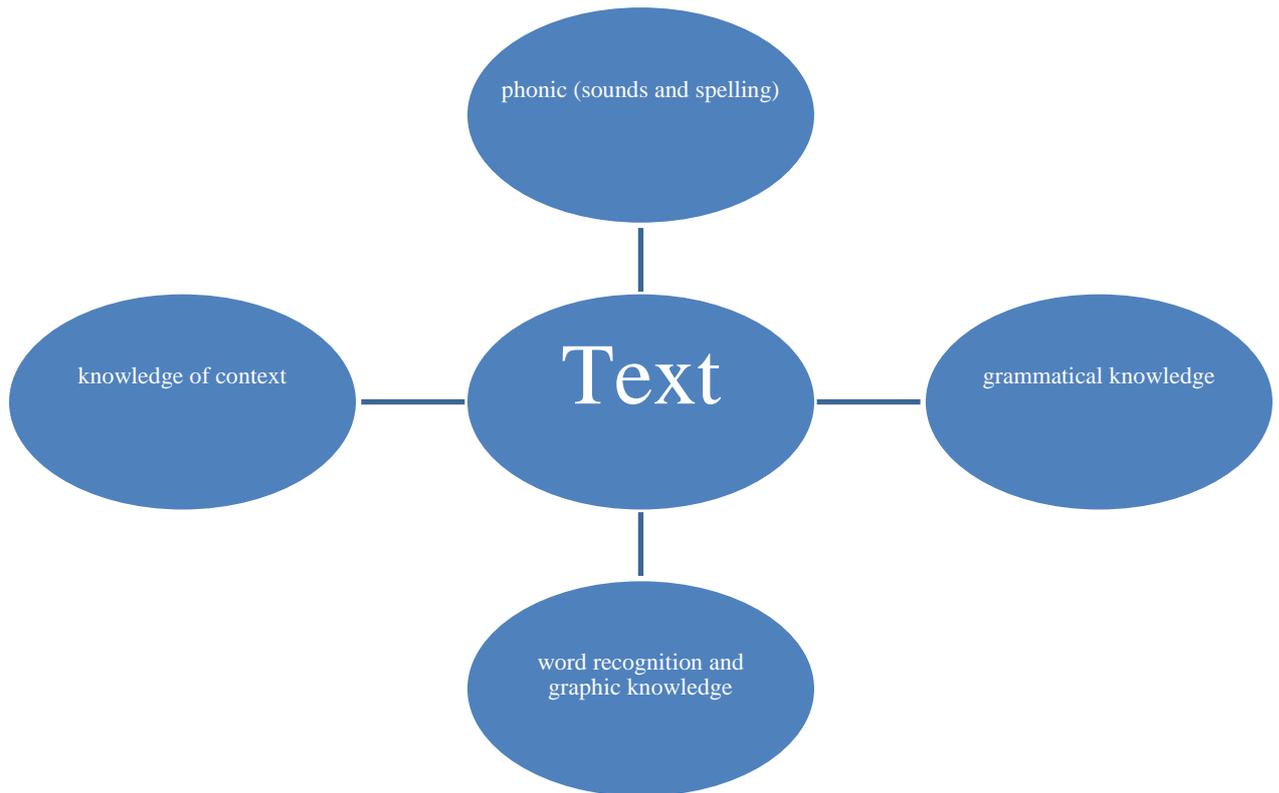
This need to appraise initiatives was also apparent in the discussion around learning objectives and the National Curriculum. In addition, it was also apparent in the discussion of accountability for learning for pupil progression and proving oneself a professional practitioner for OFSTED. Tess's stance on this discourse of accountability and proving adherence to the National Curriculum Strategy on planning was one of pragmatic compliance and this stance was conveyed to the class participants. This could be seen when she mentioned needing evidence for OFSTED 'so you can be checked on', (Line 50, Transcript A, Appendix 1). It can also be seen when she is discussing the purposes of assessment for learning to help the pupils' progress. In the episode captured in Transcript A, Tess and the class participants pursued the topic of planning and accountability further, covering the benefits of planning, types of planning such as short, medium and long term planning and SMART targets. After this, the class participants took part in the group work on making a planning checklist. They also discussed the need to be reflective about their work, for example, in the 'review' part of the planning cycle and Tess encouraged them to use a reflective diary.

7.2.1.2 Episode on pedagogy and curriculum in primary education supporting the National Curriculum for English: (24th February, 2009) (For transcript of episode, see Appendix 1, Transcript B)

In this episode on English in the National Curriculum, the focus was on reading. In this extract, the topics discussed were 'multisensory learning' and 'searchlights'. In the National Curriculum, these are presented as 'a series of key strategies that successful readers learn to use to get at the meaning of a text' (National Curriculum Strategy for English, Department of Education and Employment, 1998: 3). The 'searchlights' model for learning to read covers

phonics (sounds and spelling), knowledge of context, grammatical knowledge, word recognition and graphic knowledge. See Figure 5: *Searchlights model* below:

Figure 5: Searchlight Model for learning to read



Primary teachers were (and still are) expected to adhere to the National Curriculum Strategy Framework in terms of what they teach. TAs were (and still are) expected to support teachers in adhering to this strategy, as laid down in the CACHE Handbook.

In mediating these two topics for the class participants, Tess drew on different linguistic and semiotic resources for recasting, illustrating and orienting to text, as shown in section 7.2.2 below and in Transcript B. Class participants ‘chipped in’ with short comments and offered answers and suggestions gleaned from their own experience of supporting the teaching and learning of reading in their primary class work placements. Through this kind of ‘to-ing and fro-ing’ exchange, a particular understanding of how children learn to read was built up in the course of this preliminary activity. This understanding was later deepened through small group work, in which students talked together about what they had seen done in their schools to raise pupils’ confidence in reading. A feedback session consolidated the discussion on how to develop confidence in reading, while a Teachers’ TV’ programme covered issues with reading that a dyslexic pupil might have and how to deal with them. By including a television programme on helping dyslexic pupils to read, Tess had the aim of helping the TAs develop their awareness of how to support particular pupils with Special Educational Needs, as required by the Children’s Act 2004 and the SEN code of practice (informal communication with Tess).

In the National Curriculum, and also in CACHE assignment 1, where phonics was the only reading method given as an option, there is an emphasis on teaching phonics. The reason for the focus on phonics was because “most teachers know about [searchlights] but have often

been over-cautious about the teaching of phonics” (DfEE, NLSF, 1998: 4). While Tess did discuss phonics, she also talked about the limitations of phonics in teaching children to read and the need to use other methods as well, asking the question ‘how many words stick to the rules of phonics?’ She even made a joke about it: “..‘cats’ great [but] try spelling ‘bough’ as in ‘tree bough’, using the rules of phonics”, (see line 20, Transcript A, Appendix 1).

In this session on reading, while not neglecting phonics, Tess was keen to discuss other elements of searchlights, rather than concentrating her attention only on the so-called neglected area of phonics. In the rest of this session on reading, Tess made sure that the students understood other methods apart from phonics and also how they might combine phonics, especially Synthetic Phonics, with text-based and other, more context-based reading methods. This was consistent with her inclination towards a more, holistic and progressive view of education, and towards student-centred pedagogy, where content was as important as form. (See Chapter 2 for discussion of this preference amongst FE tutors towards student-centred teaching and learning).

The dominant discourse in this session was that of the National Curriculum Strategy for English, and specifically, that relating to reading and the ‘searchlights’ strategy. Underpinning this topic and the National Curriculum in general, lay the discourse about raising standards through measurable target setting and accreditation, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The emphasis on phonics was clear in assignment 1 “Specifications for Literacy”, where the choice of activity was Speaking and Listening, Writing or Phonics (CACHE Handbook, 2008:29).

Tess' attitude to having to comply with the National Curriculum discourse was revealing. To demonstrate Tess's pragmatic approach to compliance with the curriculum and the discourses underpinning the National Curriculum, I have drawn on three additional extracts from a feedback/plenary episode later on the same day (24 Feb 2009). (See Appendix 4.2 for additional extracts referred to). For example, important issues relating to adhering to the National Curriculum Strategy arose in the feedback from the small group activity. These all related to the students' placements, and many had to do with differentiation, for example, the difficulties of adapting to meet the needs of a dyslexic pupil, dealing with large groups of children, not having enough time to deal with children properly. Tess spent considerable time giving the class participants advice on how best to deal with these situations. Throughout the feedback and plenary sessions, she continued to stress the need to compromise, to weigh up the different ways of doing things to maximise the little time there was with the resources available, and made statements such as this:

'Education is always about compromise' (Appendix 4.2:62-3)

Thus, what started off as a measured discussion about helping children develop their reading, in the introductory activity of the session (part of which is represented in Transcript B, Appendix 1), ended up in the feedback and plenary sessions as an outburst of anxiety about what happened in the 'real' world of the classroom. Following Dubois (2007:163), the above statement is a clear example, showing how Tess takes a stance on the content of an utterance, and simultaneously positions herself and others and also aligns with others, as follows: in the course of making a seemingly 'neutral' generalised statement about education, using the

present tense and a relational process 'is' and nominalisations 'education' and 'compromise' (Halliday, 1994), Tess is making an evaluative comment in her use of the evaluative adverbial 'always' and a frequently negatively charged lexical term 'compromise'. By presenting herself in this way, she is aligning herself with fellow further education tutors. At the same time, by making a summary statement, Tess is positioning herself as being more knowledgeable and her class as less knowledgeable than herself, e.g. as 'old timers' to 'new comers' to education. The issues of class numbers and limited time for individual support in her primary work placement had also been mentioned by one of the key participants, Mandy, in an interview with me. (Appendix 3.3, Interview with Mandy, 10-03-2009). Here below are some examples of what Tess told the TAs in the feedback session, relating to the pressures of adhering to the National Curriculum Strategy for English. The extracts are again taken from a later plenary episode on 24 Feb. (See Appendix 4.2: additional extracts referred to). In the extract below, Tess was talking about the constraints the teachers work under.

Extract 1:

'Bismarck had a saying [...] "Politics is in the art of doing the possible" (.) and as teachers ... that's pretty much what we have to do. We have only a limited amount of time, we have so many children, we have a limited amount of resources so as a teacher what you do is you plan as effectively as you can to squeeze the most potential learning out of the situation' (Appendix 4.2:67-71)

In the following extract, Tess was discussing with the TAs what compromise to make:

Extract 2:

‘It’s a balancing act because the truth is ... you know you’re always going to lose out if you are having to do extra work with the child at another time so what you have to decide is what is the most important thing for a child at any one time’ (Appendix 4.2: 56-58)

In my third example, Tess emphasised the importance of negotiating with the teacher when, as TAs, they thought a child needed extra help or extra time. Tess encouraged the TAs to stand their ground and argue their case, as a key worker, if what the teacher had given a child to do did not work with that child. The National Curriculum gives very precise instructions about how time is to be spent but sometimes this does not suit a particular child. This line of my argument can be seen below:

Extract 3:

“Now again this might require some negotiation with the teacher but if you as a teaching assistant are paid for by special needs money and you’re their key worker it might be your job to say to the teacher: ‘A is really really struggling with writing lessons ‘cos they go on so long. Would it be alright for me to support him through the first 10 minutes, take him off and do something’ (.) you know some other work on the computer that’s still consolidating” (Appendix 4.2: 41-46).

It is clear from these three extracts that Tess was taking a negotiating position with regard to the National Curriculum and encouraging the TAs to do the same in their classrooms. While

this was not so apparent in Transcript B which was chosen for close analysis in section 7.2.2, it was clear from the feedback session what the TAs were taking away regarding their role in supporting the teacher in delivering the National Curriculum and the issues arising from this in the real world of the primary classroom.

7.2.1.3 Episode on pedagogy and curriculum in primary education supporting the National Curriculum for Mathematics: (31 March, 2009)

The episode on strategies for Mathematics on 31 March 2009 has been selected as an example of how Tess mediated the National Curriculum Maths strategy. With regard to supporting both Mathematics and ICT, the affective dimension needed to be taken into account. In chapter 6, I discussed elements of Tess's mediation practices in relation to ICT, audio-recorded on 17 March 2009, relating in particular to the way that the affective dimension was paramount. To mediate this dimension, Tess used narrative resources from her childhood to model for the TAs that they should take emotions into account when encouraging the pupils struggling in their classes. The same was true for mathematics.

This episode took place after break on 31st March, 2009. Previous to this, two activities had taken place. Firstly, there had been an introductory brainstorming activity involving the whole class, on measuring in everyday life, with Tess writing up key ideas on the board. Weighing for cooking, weighing ourselves, health checks, postage, loads, holidays, excess baggage and comparisons between weights all came up. Secondly, a Teachers' TV programme about measuring area was shown, which included measuring, remembering formulae and estimating, followed by some feedback on the video. The episode in Transcript C (Appendix 1) was taken from a second feedback activity, following small group work, in which class

participants had to plan a mathematics activity, focusing on the resource/s they would use. This activity served as preparation for assignment 1, where they are required to demonstrate their ability to support the National Curriculum Strategy for Mathematics. In the activity they planned, they had to include various elements: the year group it was intended for, the kind of resource/s, the location of the activity, strategies to minimize distraction and the Learning Outcomes the activity would aim to meet, as laid out in the National Curriculum for Mathematics. Tess set up the activity, the groups worked on it for a certain amount of time and then Tess called on different groups to feedback their plans. She suggested that they took it in turns to speak if more than one person had something to say. In the particular episode which provides the focus of the analysis in 7.2.2, Tess called on two small groups to feedback their plans for their activity and resource.

The dominant discourse in the session was related to the National Curriculum Strategy for Mathematics, particularly raising standards in Maths through target setting and centralising what was taught. In this session, the topic was measuring. In the National Curriculum for Mathematics (1998), in order to ensure standardisation across England and Wales, the teaching of measuring had to be done in a certain way and had to include particular topics, namely, measuring, remembering formulae and estimating (or predicting). Awareness of the 'language of maths', the 'register' of Maths, in Halliday's ([1985]1997) terms, was also a requirement. Further to the teaching of content, Learning Outcomes laid out in the National Curriculum had to be fulfilled and differentiation had to be taken into account. Awareness of legislation relating to the use of resources had to be included, e.g. Health and Safety. Thus, in

this session, Tess was mediating managerial discourses and the discourse of legislation as well as the overarching discourses around the National Curriculum.

In Transcript C, we see that Tess was particularly interested in raising the TAs' awareness of the language of mathematics and keen to point out the methods they were using, such as experimental hands-on learning. Her focus seemed to be on the metaskills they were developing, that is, the language, communication, and the pedagogy. In doing so, she seemed to be presenting herself as having a 'tutor' identity with the class participants being 'students', rather than as 'old timers' and 'newcomers' in the world of primary classrooms education.

7.2.1.4 Episode on legislation and policy relating to primary education: SEN (5 May, 2009) (Appendix 1, transcript D)

The episode in Transcript D was taken from a session on the topic: the role of the Teaching Assistant in supporting Special Educational Needs and the needs of learners with English as an Additional language. In transcript D, only SEN was covered. Tess introduced the topic but not in terms of the legislation and policy, just in terms of the TA's role in supporting this group of children. This first episode of the session (part of which is captured in Transcript D), took the form of a 'brain storm' to find out what the class participants knew so that Tess could then fill in the gaps, that is, she was eliciting their prior knowledge.

The discussion was initiated by Tess calling on the participants to identify needs that might come up in their work placement classrooms and to consider how they, as TAs, could support these needs. She discussed Dyslexia, Autism, Asperger's and Downs Syndrome and English for Speakers of Second or Additional languages (though as mentioned above, ESL/EAL was

not included in this transcript as the focus here was on SEN). Throughout these subtopics, the role of the TA in supporting children with Special Educational Needs was foregrounded, with resources drawn from her own and the participants' workplace and local life worlds, to explain and illustrate. Tess wrote notes on the smartboard throughout, to be transferred to the college Virtual Learning Environment Blackboard, thus creating a text for later reference.

Following on from this 'brain storm' and from an introduction to the topic of SEN from Tess, the class participants watched a Teachers' TV programme about supporting someone with Special Educational Needs through an approach involving a circle of friends . This was followed by a feedback activity about the programme. After the normal fifteen minute break, the class participants developed their understanding of their role in supporting learners with SEN in small group work, by looking at scenarios and deciding what strategies and resources they could most effectively use to meet a particular learner's needs. The class participants fed their ideas on these scenarios into a final discussion on planning strategies and resources for supporting pupils with SEN, which were summarised and recorded on the Blackboard system for later reference.

The dominant discourse in the episode was around special educational needs, combined with a wider discourse of inclusion. As already indicated, in this session, Tess did not enter into a technical discussion of legislation and policy. Rather, the session was based around activities relating to identifying the different SEN types and characteristics and planning resources and strategies for supporting children with particular SEN. Later in the course (on 13th October

2009), Tess drew the legislation, policy and SEN code of practice together for the purpose of preparing the class participants for the second assignment. (See Appendix 1, Transcript F)

Tess's attitude towards this discourse of inclusion around SEN was unclear. The aim of the session was to discuss the role of the TA in supporting inclusion yet there seemed to be a lack of clarity in the definition of disability and special educational needs. Some people with a disability have special educational needs, for example, people with Dyslexia. Yet some people with disabilities do not have special educational needs, for example, people with some physical disabilities and thirdly, not all people with special educational needs have disabilities. They might, for example, simply have difficulties with reading but have not been identified with a disability. Given that the group Tess was working with was at Level 2, the information she gave was quite vague and her explanations were fairly folkloric in nature rather than scientific. (Salisbury and Jephcote, 2005, have also discussed vagueness of explanations in lower levels of FE.)

In mediating the discourse of inclusion for these students, with particular regard to SEN, Tess seemed to take on an authoritative role, that of 'vocational tutor'. She did this by being the person who had the most information, therefore was in a position to 'fill the gaps' in the TA knowledge. However, she did give them the benefit of having some knowledge, gleaned from their work placements, recognising some level of expertise both in the first information gathering activity (part of which appears in Transcript D) and in the later scenario activity where they were expected to draw on their own experience in the work placement to provide strategies and resources for supporting a particular learner with an identified SEN. In this

second activity, she therefore positioned the class participants as ‘knowledgeable new comers’.

7.2.1.5 Episode on Health and Safety legislation and policy (17 March, 2009) (Appendix 1, Transcript E)

The episode captured in Transcript E was taken from a session on ICT and was tagged onto the end as something that was required. The topic was covered briefly. Before the break, the class participants took part in an experiential ICT activity, looking up websites that might be useful in their role as TAs for supporting learners. After break, they took part in a whole class feedback activity which involved reflecting on the experiential activity. This was discussed in chapter 6. Further to this, the class participant took part in a small group work activity in which they had to identify as many different kinds of ICT as they could, available in their school placements. There was another feedback activity following this, then another group work activity to identify the implications of planning ICT and the factors that had to be taken into account. This topic was relevant as it would feed in to their first assignment, namely, to plan, conduct and evaluate an activity relating to English, Maths and ICT (though the ICT could be part of the Maths or English activity if they wished.) However, the aim of this part of the session is also to ‘identify common school policies and procedures as regards ICT’ (CACHE Handbook, 2008/9:10).

In the feedback from this last activity, Tess and the class participants therefore covered procedural issues relating to the school site, such as knowing the procedures and policies relating to the following: access to an electrical point, checking on equipment such as digital cameras to ensure SD card is not full and there is a spare battery, booking resources, cable

management and planning time. Regarding time management, they also considered the time it took to prepare resources in advance, e.g. booking equipment, setting websites as favourites, putting presentations on memory sticks or CD ROMs, printing out worksheets. Finally, they touched on the need to familiarise oneself with the software, even pilot it and obtain the passwords required. All this information was contributed by and shared amongst the class participants and Tess. Class participants volunteered information about their school's different policies while Tess told stories about her own preparations.

The Question and Answer session in Transcript E, which arose from the feedback session I have just mentioned, took place right at the end of the day, after some of the class participants had left to go to work. (These people would have to obtain the information from Blackboard afterwards). Tess referred to three acts in relation to ICT and the Role of the TA: Health and Safety Act (with no date given), the Data Protection Act, 1998 and the Children's Act, 1989. PAT testing, confidentiality relating to children's data, copyright relating to resources, safe storage of equipment and safe lifting were all covered.

Covering the legislation and school policy here seemed to be a necessary part of the CACHE TA level 2 curriculum, especially that relating to children, yet it was played down for these students. For example, Tess seemed to be having this discussion as an afterthought, something necessary but to be covered as quickly as possible. This was surprising, given that Tess was about to talk about important legislation relating to ICT that TAs needed to acquaint themselves with. To make the material relevant to the class participants, Tess adopted an 'old timer' identity in talking about her own primary school practitioner practice and how she

managed these issues, and positioned the class participants as newcomer TAs, and at times, even fellow educational practitioners. She and the other participants also used humour to make an essentially dry topic such as legislation and policy about ICT more engaging. This can be seen in Transcript E, Appendix 1.

7.2.1.6 Episode on legislation, code of practice and school policy assignment (13 October, 2009) (Appendix 1, Transcript F)

This extract was taken from the session on 13th October, 2009. It formed part of unit 2, and occurred near the end of the course when the participants were preparing the second assignment (Table 3). It was a session specifically related to the assignment on law, policy and the Role of the TA. This and the session in the previous week on policy and legislation brought together the learning that had taken place week by week over the year (See table 3). During the session, they had already done an activity on encouraging positive behaviour, which would relate to school behaviour policy. The class participants were required to link what they had done in their workplace and in the sessions with the legislation or school policy on that topic, with a particular focus on the SEN code of practice. For example, they could write up 250 words on the topic of 'behaviour' as part of a school policy and 250 words on the topic of 'Health and Safety' legislation. However, in their writing, they needed to demonstrate how they, as TAs, had to apply the policy or the legislation relating to the topic, in accordance with the SEN Code of Practice laid down by the government.

In the episode captured in Transcript F, Tess was setting up a group work activity in which the participants considered the role of the Teaching Assistant in making the SEN Code of Practice happen. Apart from the procedural talk involved in setting up the activity, she also

mediated the topic of law and policy by recasting in everyday language and orienting to and talking around text in order that the participants could start to create their assignments. There was talk around the CACHE criteria for gaining a pass, merit and distinction. There was also considerable confusion around what constituted a policy and what constituted a law and what they had to and did not have to cover in the assignment.

The dominant institutional discourse here was related to legislation and the SEN code of practice, as expressed in school policy. For Tess, this was a topic that she was required to cover since it was in the CACHE curriculum. She made this explicit to the class participants as follows: “...these are things I need to cover with you guys ..um..for the purposes of ..um..our curriculum ..” (See line 637, Transcript F, Appendix 1).

Tess definitely chose how she ‘delivered’ the curriculum and made her stance on particular topics clear. Nevertheless, she covered the topics week by week in a way that ensured the class knew their role as TAs. She focused her teaching and their learning on what was relevant to them and on the job they would be doing in the future. She also gave them considerable latitude in how they prepared their assignments, as we see in the following comment to class participants, made later in the same recorded session on 13 October 2009: ‘The way I’m teaching it means that you’ve thought about your roles of teaching assistant so that if you wanted to write this up you could but you don’t have to (.) you can choose one that suits you best’ (See Appendix 4.3:11-13, additional extracts).

In this way, the topics of legislation and school policy were made more engaging to the class participants. Tess's negotiated attitude to the dominant discourses of legislation, code of practice and school policy was expressed in the way she aligned with her students while making sure that she covered the curriculum in a way that was meaningful to them. This clearly reflected her student-centred approach to teaching and learning.

7.2.2 Mediating discourses across these episodes, drawing on different language and textual resources

In order to mediate the discourses about pedagogy, legislation and accountability for the adult learners in her class, Tess adopted various discursive strategies as follows: firstly, she explained terms for them in informal, everyday language and vague style. By engaging in a linguistic recasting of official terminology, she linked the worlds of institutional discourse with the worlds of the adult learners. She also translated the ideas of the class participants back into 'authoritative discourse' thus linking worlds of the student workplaces and home and the world of primary and vocational classrooms. Secondly, she modelled and illustrated the kind of practices that characterised the role of the TA by using narrated examples, (both personal and professional) or by reflecting on the very activities the class participants engaged in, thereby linking the worlds of the vocational classroom in Further Education with the world of the primary school; thirdly, she oriented the participants to different texts. These texts were not just hard copy text, physically available in the classroom, but also more ephemeral, residual traces of texts elsewhere, on paper or on screen. She was continually directing them to texts, talking about them and creating texts with and for them as a whole class and in small groups.

In this section, I will examine with a closer lens, the specific ways in which Tess mediated each of the discourses related to the role of the TA, that I discussed above and I will show how she drew on different linguistic and textual resources in doing so. My analysis will focus on the six episodes which I introduced above, in 7.2.1 and on extracts from Transcripts A-F, in Appendix 1.

7.2.2.1 *Recasting wordings*

In the six sessions described in detail above, I recorded many instances in which Tess recasts, or reformulates, specialist terms from different registers (Halliday, [1985]1997) in non-specialist terms that the learners in her class understand or recognise. Halliday (1994) refers to the range between specialist and non-specialist lexis as realising an aspect of ideational meaning, part of field. The terms included the following: ‘learning objectives’ ‘SMART targets’, ‘phonics’, ‘open question’, ‘experimental approach’, ‘special educational needs’, ‘autism’, ‘context’, ‘grammatical knowledge’, ‘word recognition’, ‘searchlights’ and ‘National Curriculum’. Here, I have chosen the terms ‘learning objective’, ‘smart targets’, ‘national curriculum’ ‘phonics’, ‘open question’ and ‘experimental approach’, ‘special educational needs’ and ‘autism’ to illustrate Tess’s approach to recasting.

I begin with Tess’s recasting of the terms ‘Learning Objective’, ‘SMART’ targets and ‘National Curriculum’. My examples are taken from the episode represented in Transcript A, (See Appendix 1). This episode focused on planning for delivery of the National Curriculum. Tess assumed a ‘tutor identity’ throughout most of the episode captured in this transcript. As indicated in section 7.2.1.1, this was an introductory activity, where the focus was on the

notion of planning and accountability for learning, with reference to the National Curriculum. As I will show below, Tess introduced the class participants to various concepts by recasting them in everyday language. Following on from the introductory activities, class participants engaged in group work. The task they had to address was that of planning a teaching/learning activity based on the National Curriculum.

In this introductory activity, Tess started by explaining what being ‘accountable’ for the learning of the children meant, namely, as pointed out in chapter 2, a “conflation of the managerial and of professional ethics” (Strathern, 2000): ‘as educationalists we are paid to achieve certain results (.) we are paid to meet the national curriculum’ (see line 11, Transcript A, Appendix 1). In order to be accountable, she stressed the importance of keeping ‘evidence’ both for OFSTED and for keeping on track with the children’s learning (see line 50, Transcript A, Appendix 1). She then discussed how this kind of evidence could be collected. Planning and recording learning was explained with reference to SMART Learning Objectives (LOs), long term plans (Schemes of Work), termly plans (topic webs), weekly and daily planning (lesson plans). As she introduced these terms, she recast them in spoken conversational discourse to mediate the managerial discourse of SMART targets, and by doing so, she ‘scaffolded’ the learning (Bruner, 1986). ‘Scaffolding learning’ was discussed in chapter 4.7.2. A dynamic tension lay in her need to move backwards and forwards, recasting or reformulating both into everyday concrete and informal conversational registers and back into what Bourdieu (1991) calls ‘legitimate’ language, which in this case is more abstract and general ways of expressing ideas, using Standard English. In extract 4, Tess recast the

educational discourse phrase ‘learning objectives’ in other, everyday language, in two ways, consecutively, in order to make it more meaningful for these adult learners:

Extract 4:

T:[...] learning objectives| you set yourself goals| you set yourself things you want to achieve and then you decide right I will know the child has achieved this if they can do this this and this (Lines 54-56 ,Transcript A, Appendix 1)

Firstly, she opened up the term for the interlocutors by changing from a nominal to a verbal construction. She started by introducing the nominal construction ‘learning objectives’, a word taken directly from the National Literacy Strategy (DfEE, 1998:6). She then added two further verbal constructions ‘you set yourself goals’ and ‘you set yourself things you want to achieve’. The use of nominalisation in texts allows for information ‘packaging’. When a process is nominalized, the former process, which becomes part of a nominal group, can then be associated with modifiers and qualifiers. Through nominalisation it is possible to build up chains or sequence of logical argument (Halliday, 1994). Nominalisation makes it possible for information to be compacted therefore more information can be packaged in fewer words. While this may be appropriate for written scientific papers (Halliday, 1994), in interactive, spoken non-specialist communication, the information needs to be unpacked and made accessible. Thus, in the interaction above, the communicative nature of the exchange was reinforced through the use of the 2nd person pronoun ‘you’, which had the effect of involving the addressee more directly.

Secondly, Tess recast the term in ‘vague language’ for the interlocutors. Vague language is discussed in section 4.2. Tess used ‘vague language’ in the following way. In moving from the second to the third wording, Tess changed the lexical item ‘goal’, a more specific term used in educational discourse, to the vague conversational word ‘things’. (Line 55, Transcript A, Appendix 1). This movement towards ‘vague language’ for the purpose of convergence with the interlocutors in classroom talk is reminiscent of the research done by Cutting (2007). A similar phenomenon is identified in Salisbury and Jephcote’s (2005) research data of Further Education Tutors talking about their vocational students.

In Extract 5, Tess recast a technical term by using creative wordplay, as discussed in section 4.4.4, in order to make it accessible to her audience. Tess was introducing another educational term ‘SMART’ to describe what the Learning Objective (or LO) should be like, ideally. To make the explanation of a technical educational term more user-friendly and potentially less boring, she began by employing the word play intended by the originators of the term. The polysemous term ‘smart’ carries considerable weight in the discourse of accountability for learning because it is in this acronym that you can find the means to becoming accountable. As with many acronyms, the abbreviation itself, ‘SMART’ meaning ‘clever’, is intended to reinforce the meaning of the full version, that is, how the learning objectives should be in order to be transparent for the purpose of accountability. In the full transcript, Tess went through the different letters in the acronym and what they signified, namely: specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time bound. In extract 5, Tess was introducing the first of these letters, S for Specific

Extract 5:

Learning objectives ((writing)) should be smart ((writing))| they should be specific| so they should tell you exactly what the child will be able to do (.) |not sort of (.) exactly (Lines 62-63, Transcript A, Appendix 1)

Firstly, Tess introduced the term ‘Specific’. She then recast this adjective as a clause in ‘so they should tell you exactly what the child will be able to do’, to open up the idea of specificity. To make it more relevant for these future primary practitioners, she then put it into the context of their future workplace by referring to ‘the children’ in their care. Finally, she provided a rhetorical flourish to engage the class’s attention and emphasise her point, with the pithy contrastive phrase ‘not sort of, exactly’. In summary, she was drawing on the creative resources at her disposal and relevant to the situation to engage and make meaningful the educational discourse term SMART.

In Extract 6, Tess was recasting for the class participants information about the National Curriculum. She did this by contextualising the notion of the National Curriculum. Noticeable here is that, in the course of extending their knowledge, she also takes a stance on how it is used.

Extract 6:

T: national curriculum... absolutely the government is taking a long term look at what they want young children to achieve they then send it off to Whitehall and then produce a document which is called the national curriculum and then the teachers have

to teach with the view to achieving the targets and goals that have been outlined in the national curriculum (Lines 16-19, Transcript A, Appendix 1)

In the above extract, by contextualising the term ‘national curriculum’ for the class participants, Tess recast the notion of the ‘national curriculum’ as a guide for teachers to that of a mandatory document designed by the government for teachers to use in order to fulfil targets and reach in institutional goals. The semi-modal verb ‘have to’ with the material process ‘teach’ implies external obligation, that is, the teachers are obliged (by the government) to teach the national curriculum. The use of the mental process ‘want’ with ‘government’ as actor, implies that the government controls what pupils learn in primary education. For Halliday (1994), analysing text in terms of angle of representation realises ideational meaning. It can be used to ascertain who the agent is and who the affected. The choice of explaining in this way suggests that Tess felt a similar obligation to follow the National Curriculum, which she was reproducing for the future TAs. However, had she chosen other words, which expressed a passion for the content of the National Curriculum e.g. through the use of positive epithets or personal alignment with it, through the use of first person pronouns such as ‘I’ or ‘we’, she might have presented a different stance, one which did not suggest straight compliance but rather some enthusiasm and personal investment in the National Curriculum project.

I turn now to Tess’ recasting of the term ‘phonics’. This occurred during an episode in which Tess was discussing with the adult learners in her class how to support teachers and students

working on activities related to the National Curriculum for English at primary level. (See Transcript B in Appendix 1 for the full discourse context for extract 7 below).

Extract 7:

T: [...]so when you're when you're starting off with a brand new learner a brand new person who's not read before what's one of the first steps you're going to take with them

St: letter sounds

T: letter sounds ...what we call phonics (Line 156- 159, Transcript B, Appendix 1)

The recasting here was part of an exchange sequence between Tess and participants so here she was recasting what the participant said in everyday conversational language as “letter sounds” became “phonics”. The use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ here seemed to index a fellow educational practitioner identity and/or a relationship such as that of ‘old timer’ to ‘newcomer’ in the primary education profession.

In the session where Tess was introducing this class to the National Curriculum Strategy for Maths and focusing on ‘measurement’, we see her recasting the term “open question”. (See Transcript C, Appendix 1). Here, she was recasting the noun phrase “open question” as “questions that give them a chance to expand”. She then went on to model an open vs. closed question in the context of an activity.

Extract 8:

T: [...] So open questions remember, so try not to ask questions where there is only one answer, you know, try and ask questions that give them a chance to expand. So “what do you think will happen” is a more open question than saying “how will I know if it’s heavy” (Line 328-330, Transcript C, Appendix 1)

She recast the technical term by reformulating the noun phrase ‘open question’ as a clause, and used ‘non- specialised lexis and ‘interactive’ grammatical constructions, linked to spoken conversational registers (Halliday 1994) such as the imperative form ‘try’, the additive coordinator ‘so’ and verbs rather than nominalisations.

Another more complex example of recasting is shown below in Extract 9:

In this short exchange, one group of adult learners were feeding back on the activity they had planned.

Extract 9:

CP: We thought about getting children to bring a box in from home and open it and then copy it.

Tess: So you have talked about unpacking the box, what sort of language are you going to use to the children. How are you going to talk to the children to make sure they get the most learning potential out of that?

CP: We kind of aimed it towards year 3, it’s looking at the learning and information puzzles and that sort of thing (inaudible)...

Tess: So it's quite an experimental approach isn't it, which is in fact hands on learning, I mean the thing is you can talk to children about nets, nets are the shapes that you put together to make the box. You get children to make boxes... they are learning more, you get children to unmake a box in order for it to be remade... they will understand that a bit better, if they can apply it directly to something. It's real, this is something that happens in real life and children will get that better. (Line 361-373, Transcript C, Appendix 1)

This extract represented an unpacking of the learning outcome, given in the participants' own words as "looking at the learning and information puzzles and that sort of thing" (Line 366, Transcript C, Appendix 1). Tess developed their idea by taking the technical term 'experimental approach' and recast it as 'hands on' learning, then proceeded to show what that meant and how the children could learn from it through first through talking about 'nets' recast as 'the shapes that you put together to make the box' and then box making and unmaking. This was effectively what the group had planned without expressing it as such. She was showing them how to realise meaning in terms of more 'legitimate' language, in Bourdieu's terms (1991), the intention being to make more explicit the 'learning outcome' they were aiming for. Tess was managing the tension between centralising and decentralising tendencies (Bakhtin, 1981), in the way she shifted backwards and forwards between the technical register and the everyday conversational register. These shifts could be linked to shifts in identity discussed in chapter 6.

Turning to legislative discourse, Tess translated the Health and Safety Act (1974) as it related to TAs verbally, using everyday lexis and grammar as we see in extract 10 below. Instead of the nominalised phrasing with technical lexis that appears in the terms of the Act, i.e., ‘ensure the safety of yourself and others’, Tess used a more colloquial phrasal verb form ‘sort things out’ and the clause ‘so that people will be safe’. This was clearly done to make legal discourse more understandable to this audience. She also recast the more technical lexical term ‘bi-yearly’ as ‘every two years’ in case the participants were not familiar with the term. However, when she typed, she switched back into using passive grammatical constructions, e.g. ‘held’ and ‘must be tested’ and more specialist lexis, such as ‘bi-yearly’, typical of registers, related to greater social distance in terms of tenor and formal written modes.

There was evidence of mitigation of default situational power here too. For example, by mentioning her bad memory in relation to knowing what the acronym PAT meant, Tess was mitigating her institutional power to align with or position herself as equal to her adult students, and in so doing, she was adopting a ‘stance’ towards official discourse that was typical of her and her professional group of FE tutors. This way of doing being an FE tutor by mitigating power through employing conciliatory talk, is discussed by Roberts and Sarangi (2001).

Extract 10:

Tess: So Health and Safety Act, you take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of yourself and others. [...]

Tess: So it's not unreasonable to expect you to turn everything off, sort things out so that people will be safe.

T: Where electrical equipment is concerned do you know what the requirements are in terms of electrical equipment?

CP: PAT testing.

Tess: Can never remember what it stands for

Researcher: particular appliance testing? Something like that?

Tess: PAT testing basically what it boils down to ((types)), all electrical items held on the premises must be tested bi-yearly. That means, every two years (see Line 541-555, Transcript E, Appendix 1).

In the following extract (Extract 11) on the Data Protection Act and Children's Act, she could be seen to translating them from a formal language code into everyday colloquial and interactive lexis and grammar as follows. (She was in fact reading the legal text and then translating it):

Extract 11:

Tess: Now umm another thing you must take into account when thinking about ICT in schools is data protection ((Typing up words)) and it's the Data Protection Act of 1998 and there is also the Children's Act that's 1989. ((Typing up laws on board)). Under the Data Protection Act all data held on children should be kept secure and on adults. So any data kept on you must be under password, so no one else can access it. So there might be issues sometimes when you are working with children that sometimes

you can't access certain information. Under the Children's Act, information that is held on children whether it's on the computer or any other recording thing, must be accurate, objectively recorded and must not...ummm... you must need it, so you shouldn't hold onto any information you don't actually need for the purposes of your organization because that would just be intrusive on somebody's privacy. (See Line 560-570, Transcript E, Appendix 1)

The switch from reading a written version of legislative discourse verbatim and writing 'laws' on the board for recording purposes, to reiterating the content in spoken everyday conversational discourse was clear. The written legislative discourse is expressed grammatically by the passive form: 'held' 'kept' and 'is held', 'recorded' and technical lexis: 'data' 'secure', 'accurate' and 'objectively' while the everyday conversational discourse is marked by interactive features such as additive coordinator 'so', using the second person pronoun 'you' to refer to the TAs in their workplace and evaluative language such as the mood adjuncts 'actually' and 'just' (Halliday, 1994:83), all of which indicate the presence of speaker persona.

7.2.2.2 *Questioning*

Tess also drew on the discursive resource of questioning in order to lead her class towards greater understanding of some relevant ideas and concepts. By asking a series of consecutive questions, Tess 'scaffolded' (Bruner, 1986) the learning of the content of the course so that the class participants developed a critical understanding which was 'internally persuasive', that is, they had made it their own. As Bakhtin (1981, pp. 345-346) puts it: the internally

persuasive word "is half-- ours and half-someone else's.... It is not finite, it is open ... and able to reveal ever new ways to mean".

In Extract 12 taken from the session on planning for learning (Transcript A, Appendix 1), Tess used questioning to make the link between school and government planning clearer.

Extract 12:

Tess: ...what do schools link their plan to

CP: targets

Tess: targets and where are they getting their targets

CP: government

Tess: in the form of

CP: national curriculum

Tess: national curriculum absolutely the government is taking a long term look at what they want young children to achieve they then send it off to Whitehall and then produce a document which is called the national curriculum

(Line 110-118, Transcript A, Appendix 1)

Tess used 'wh' questions such as 'what' and 'where' to prompt the class participants to think about the topic of planning in more detail and move from one point to another. She also used half questions such as 'in the form of' to hint at what information she would like next. Thus, in the extract, school planning is linked to what? Targets. These come from where?

Government. In the form of what? The National Curriculum document. The open question

form gives the interlocutors space to think of answers themselves rather than having them told to them, thus engaging them more directly in the process of meaning making. However, questioning of this sort is not the same as free problem-solving where participants can provide their own answers.

Extract 13, below was taken from Transcript B, Appendix 1, from the session on supporting the National Curriculum Strategy for English. Tess was introducing the concept of grammatical knowledge, one of the ‘searchlights’, a framework outlined in the National Curriculum for helping pupils in primary school to read.(DfEE, 1998:4), as indicated in section 7.2.1.2 above. (See Figure 5). I have chosen extract 13 below to demonstrate the use of questioning to arrive at an understanding of a point.

I have highlighted the questions that lead the participants towards an understanding of how grammatical knowledge works. Open questions such as ‘wh’, ‘how’ questions, ‘if’ questions and reiteration of the responses by Tess served the purposes of leading the ‘students’ to a clearer understanding of the concept of grammatical knowledge. Again the questioning was all contextualised within the exchange sequence and served to collaboratively build knowledge, as discussed by Mercer (1995), in this instance, of the topic of grammatical knowledge (the fourth of the searchlights). Following these lines, Amy, one of the adult learners, asked for clarification about searchlights in general and the resulting exchange clearly indicated how interactive this discussion was and how closely embedded it was in the context of the discussion of the TA role. (The wider discussion is shown in Transcript B, Appendix 1).

Extract 13.

Tess: by grammatical knowledge I mean that when we did 'it's a dreigh day today' how did you know it was a describing word

CP: ((mutters))

Tess: sorry say that again

CP: it starts with 'it's a'

Tess: yeah 'it's a' (.) why do you know the next word is going to be a describing word 'it's a boy' so if I (.) .how (.) if I wrote 'it's a.... the next word could be a noun it could be 'it's a boy'

CP: you said 'day'

Tess: so there is already a noun the problem word was the word before the noun (.) now a noun for those of you who don't know is a naming word so it's a word that is the name of something (..) if you've got a word that comes just before a noun the chances are it's going to be an adjective or what children sometimes describe as a describing word

(Line 243 -255, Transcript B, Appendix 1)

The following extract (Extract 14) was taken from the session on the topic of measuring, one of the National Curriculum topics for Maths. (See Transcript C, Appendix 1) As with the other sessions on the National Curriculum, this session was linked to their first assignment, which required them to plan, implement and reflect on activities that supported the National Curriculum for English, Maths and ICT. As indicated in section 7.2.1.3 above, the session

took the form of an introductory discussion on the topic of primary school ‘measuring’ activities in general, followed by group work to plan the resources needed for an activity on this topic. The episode from which Extract 14 is taken comes from the feedback activity related to the group work. In this extract, we see that Tess led the class participants to be more specific, clearer and more nuanced in their understanding of the measuring activity they planned. She did this through asking a series of open ‘wh’ type questions.

Extract 14

CP: We had a group of 6 children; their resources were scales, carrots, teddy bears, cubes and pencils.

Tess: OK, yes that’s good.

CP: The activity is that teachers are showing the children the scales and explaining how they balance different objects.

Tess: So what kind of things would they say when they are explaining?

CP: That different objects are heavier and lighter than others. And by showing them with their hands.

Tess: Yes, so they will be demonstrating while they are talking about it and they can use the language “heavier than”. Would any of you have drawn your attention to anything if you were just doing this the very first time? Draw the children’s attention to anything in particular?

Tess: So you put something on the scales and something happens, what would you draw the children’s attention to?

CP: They can see how many things [there are] on this side to make it balance.

Tess: Yeah, and what would you say if they have never seen scales before?

CP: There are the scales (.) this is what we are going to be using. We are going to put this on here and you can tell that it is heavy, so we use these objects to see if we can balance it out and how many we have used.

Tess: Yes, absolutely. One thing just to, this is learning now, when you introduce the scales for the first time, make sure that you talk about the fact that when something is heavier on one side than on the other, the scales go down. Yeah, so use that language, and by all means do the visual at the same time.

(Line 304-324, Transcript C, Appendix 1).

In the above extract, Tess made sure that she highlighted the role of the language of maths, in ‘what would you say if they have never seen scales before’ (Line 318, Transcript C, Appendix 1) and ‘make sure that you talk about the fact that when something is heavier on one side than on the other, the scales go down’ and ‘use that language’ (Line 324, Transcript C, Appendix 1). “Using the correct mathematical terms” is a learning outcome in the National Curriculum Strategy for Mathematics (DfEE, NNSF, 1998: 4).

Finally, I need to draw the attention of the reader to the absence of a particular discursive strategy in some topic areas. For example, I found no evidence of questioning in the episode on Health and Safety on 17th March 2009 (Transcript E, Appendix 1). Nor did I find any questioning in the session on the second assignment where they were discussing legislation, policies and the SEN code of practice on (Transcript F, Appendix 1). One reason might have been the timing of the episodes, with the Health and Safety discussion occurring at the end of

a day's session. The topic on legislation in relation to the second assignment occurred almost at the end of the year when the teaching and learning were effectively over. Questioning requires ample discussion and is part of the teaching and learning of a topic. Another reason might have been that the discussion of the assignment on 13 October centred around largely practical considerations therefore there was little opportunity for drawn out discussion and development of understanding of concepts.

7.2.2.3 Linking worlds by illustrating with narrated examples or modelling practice

Tess drew on the discursive resources of narrative-as-example or exemplum (Eggins and Slade, 1997:257-59, cited in Baynham, 2011) and modelling (Bandura, 1986) to link the worlds of the class participants to those of the college and the work place. In two funded studies of students' literacy practices in FE contexts by Roz Ivanic et al (2009) and Martin-Jones (2011), it was suggested that students' local literacy practices, both mono and bilingual, could be harnessed to improve their educational chances in college. Similarly, by drawing on the lifeworlds (Habermas, [1984] 1986) and workplace worlds of these students and linking them to the institutional world of the college, Tess was helping her class of adult learners make sense of the content of the TA course. Moll et al (1992:132-141) similarly discuss how 'funds of knowledge' can be drawn on for teaching purposes to connect the home to the classroom. Two discursive resources she used to link these worlds were storytelling and modelling practice. I will demonstrate how she used these in the following short extracts.

7.2.2.3.1 *Illustrating with 'small stories'*

In extract 15 below, taken from the session on planning (Appendix 1, Transcript A), Tess was illustrating 'getting more realistic with experience' (or not) by using what looks like a 'small' personal story in the second half of the utterance (Georgakopoulou, 2007). There are various signs that it might be a story. Firstly, there is a sequence of actions: 'you get bored', 'you try and push the envelope a little', .. 'you fall flat on your face'. There is also external evaluation in the form of free direct thought 'you think "right I won't do it that way again"'. By presenting her evaluation in this form, as a reiteration of an 'imagined' thought, a form discussed by Tannen (2007), Tess was using humour and creativity to make a suggestion for the benefit of the future TAs about how to behave if you make a mistake. She was using thought representation as a performance device, as a way of bringing her subject to life for her class in order to engage them and make a point. Moreover, she was also using it to present herself, 'ventriloquating' (Wortham, 2001:70) as a particular kind of character who picks herself up and moves on rather than beating herself up and giving up.

There is a particular character portrayed in the story (an experienced professional, with self-deprecating humour). This is expressed through devices such as contrast (change from being realistic to suddenly not being realistic at all, marked by conjunctive 'except'), through evaluative language such as adjective 'bored' , adverb 'occasionally' and through metaphoric expression 'push the envelope' and 'fall flat on your face' with self-deprecating humorous touches: 'try' and 'a little'. Imagery and creative word play are discussed in section 4.4.4, in relation to involvement strategies. The effect of the story is to make the future TAs feel more confident about their abilities as planners. She achieves this effect by making herself less than

perfect as a planner, in order to reduce the distance between the worlds of the TAs and the professional world of a teacher. She seemed to be adopting the identity of fellow educational professional by performing this story for this class. In adopting this self-deprecating position, she is mitigating her power as a default institutional tutor, and in so doing, aligning herself with her class. Self-deprecation as mitigation of power is discussed in section 4.7.1.

Extract 15:

Tess:[...] you'll get more realistic as you go on ... the longer you've been teaching the more you realise... except occasionally you get bored and you try and push the envelope a little then you fall flat on your face and you think right I won't do it that way again (.)

(Line 84, Transcript A, Appendix 1)

The following extract (16) is drawn from the session in which Tess is introducing the class to speech act theory (Austin, 2005), that is, the different speech acts and how they are realised in lexico- grammar. (Appendix 1: Transcript B). It is taken from the session that focused on what the adult learners needed to know in order to support a teacher delivering the National Curriculum for English and help the pupils with the activities relating to this topic. In extract 16, Tess was answering a question posed by Amy, one of the adult learners I interviewed, about whether all the grammar was learned together or one thing at a time. Tess responded by giving an idea of the order in which knowledge about language was taught and learned, starting in year 1 or year 2 with simple work, which led on to more complicated ideas in later

years, such as the idea of types of language, mentioned in the extract . She emphasised that grammar was usually taught and learned in the context of writing or spelling lessons.

In extract 16, Tess was drawing on her own lifeworld (Habermas [1984]1986), using her daughter's experience, to authenticate the fact that types of language are really taught. She notes that her daughter is learning about "ordering language" for example. Tess was also linking worlds by introducing this narrative element, to make the teaching relevant to both herself and her students, who also have children learning to read in the UK under the National Curriculum. Talking in this way thus formed part of an equal exchange of views therefore it may have had a relational role in the exchange, as presenting identities of fellow parent to parent, as discussed in chapter 6.

Extract 16

T: yeah absolutely and I mean then you get past tense then you get um different sorts of language so you get orders och my daughter's just been doing them and it's gone from my head... ordering language... uhh I've forgotten it when you when you tell somebody to do something you are using a particular kind of language

R: imperative

T: imperative thank you

(Line 274-279, Transcript B, Appendix 1).

Extract 17 below is taken from the session on 5th May 2009 on the topic of Special Educational Needs and the role of TAs in supporting differentiation. (Appendix 1, Transcript

D). The extract is from the introductory discussion, in which Tess was establishing how much the class knew about specific educational needs. She asked the class to demonstrate prior knowledge and provided additional information to help them understand what was seen by her as a key topic in the course. It was important because the TAs' main role is to help pupils with particular needs to access and make sense of the National Curriculum while at the same time supporting the whole class to ensure inclusion. Tess illustrated Aspergers syndrome by telling a story from her professional experience. She used this story telling resource to raise the awareness of Aspergers for the future TAs in a memorable way. Tess drew on first-hand experience (someone she taught), in what Wortham (2001) refers to as high 'epistemic modalisation' and introduced a relevant scenario using everyday encounters. She also drew on the discursive resource of 'quotation' (Wortham, 2001) and the semiotic resource of gestures. We see that adopting a self-deprecating position in the 'story world' (Wortham, 2001), of someone who made a mistake in their interaction with someone with Aspergers and then took responsibility for it, served a purpose for her storytelling audience. It was 'small' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) in that the storytelling event took precedence over the narrated story.

Extract 17:

T: [...]But word of warning I taught an Asperger's lady a rule of thumb for meeting people because she was always getting into people's faces and I said "just see that space between you and me that's about the space you want when you're meeting someone especially if you don't know them very well. Maybe when you get to know them very well they might feel more comfortable to get closer, at least initially give

them some space”. Of course next time she went to meet someone what happened, ((she lifted up her arm to measure the distance between her and the other person)) the look she got made her really confused because as far as she was concerned she was doing the right thing, she was just checking she had enough space between her and the person so then I had to explain I didn’t explain my rule well enough, don’t change the rule but I need to explain the rule better because it’s my fault. Because I took the blame she was perfectly OK with that because that was just me not explaining the rule properly it wasn’t a change of rule it was a rule not being explained properly and she was able to then understand that you’ve just got to sort of imagine.

(Line 468-480, Transcript D, Appendix 1).

The story was typically introduced with an abstract: ‘But... word of warning’. This gave the audience the purpose of the story, that is, to warn the TAs to explain exactly what they mean when talking to people with Asperger’s, who tend to take everything literally. It contained orienting material, the scenario of the ‘Asperger’s lady’ meeting people and what she should imagine or ‘see’: ‘just see that space between you and me that’s about the space you want when you’re meeting someone especially if you don’t know them very well’. The climax of the story consisted of what actually happened when the lady did meet someone, namely, that she took the instruction literally and raised her arm to check the distance between herself and the other person. At this critical point of the story, in order to draw the audience in and bring it to life, Tess enacted the scene by drawing on gesture, lifting her own arm to a horizontal position as if to test the distance between her and another (fictitious) person. Finally, there was a resolution and explanation for the benefit of the audience.

7.2.2.3.2 *Modelling practice through Tess' own activities undertaken with this class*

As well as illustrating with stories, Tess used the resource of 'modelling' practice (Bandura, 1986) for these future TAs. The pedagogic technique of 'modelling' can be compared to 'narrative-as-exemplum' (Eggins and Slade, 1997, cited in Baynham, 2011). However, modelling is seen as having very high epistemic modalisation as not only is it first-hand experience but it is the first hand experience of the audience as well. Modelling of her own classroom practices is used to highlight particular points, which are made relevant by being projected forward to future TA practices. Here, I have taken three examples, one from the session on planning for learning (Transcript A), another from the session on supporting the National Curriculum for English (Transcript B) and a third from the session on Special Needs and differentiation (Transcript D).

In extract 18 below, Tess was in the process of explaining what SMART targets are in terms of planning for learning. Rather than simply explaining what the term 'time bound' (the 'T' in SMART) meant, Tess demonstrated it in action, so to speak, using herself and her current practice as data. The strong presence of her persona in the text, as Halliday (1994) sees it, signified a 'centrifugal' pull (Bakhtin,1981). Her use of linguistic features realising personalisation (Halliday,1994), such as pronoun 'I' in the text, contrasted with the centripetal, formulaic expression associated with the educational discourse relating to planning for learning: 'by the end of the session the student will be able to...'. This expression is used to plan for meeting learning objectives, in the approach to lesson planning taught to new Further Education tutors in the United Kingdom. Changes in teaching and learning discourses in FE were also occurring in other domains of education, for example,

Primary School and Early Years. This cross-over made it possible for Tess, in FE, to use her class to model primary school practices (See section 2.5.2.1).

Extract 18:

T: time bound (..) and by that I mean do I know when I need to measure this so for instance (.) I haven't made my objectives today time bound ..oh I have because I've said by the end of the session the student will be able to oh I have ..em.. by the end of the session the student will be able to describe the appropriate TA's role in the planning session (Line 87-90, Transcript A, Appendix 1).

In the following extract 19, taken from the session on supporting the National Curriculum Strategy for English (Transcript B, Appendix 1): multisensory learning and ‘searchlights’ , Tess was modelling using ‘context’, one of the four searchlights used in learning to read, according to the National Curriculum Framework (1998: 4). She did this by using a new word ‘dreigh’, a word taken from her Scottish lifeworld, which the students in her class would not be familiar with, and employing a quiz, a resource which was likely to get the class participants’ attention. Again, by using this ‘modelling’ approach, i.e. through using the first-hand experience of herself and her class in the form of a narrative-as-exemplum, Tess was able to lead the apprentice TAs spontaneously towards an understanding of the role of context in learning to read. Having done this, she put the concept of using context as a cue to learning to read into the world of primary education “so there’s a strategy for learning... a strategy that can be taught to some children who found that difficult (.) so that’s context using context to

help” (see line 205, Transcript B, Appendix 1), thus linking the worlds of FE and the world of primary education that the TAs inhabited in their work.

Extract 19:

T[...](.) to give you an example of that if we can (?) open this out (.) let me give you a quick quiz (..) let me introduce you to a bit of scots it’s a ‘dreigh’ day today what do you think that word means(...)

CP: dry

Tess: dry...possibly

CP: rainy

Tess: rainy

CP: soggy

Tess: soggy

CP: dull

Tess: dull

Tess: how did you... why did you all come up with weather words

CP: cos it’s something to do with today

Tess: something to do with the day isn’t it em (.) it could mean fantastic(.) or enjoyable

CP: the way you said it was

Tess: it was also how I said it wasn’t it so something in the way I conveyed the information but I mean if I had just written it up on the board would you still have had a suspicion that it was a weather word (.) do you think

CP: possibly

St: I don't know

Tess: most of you thought it was a dull sounding word didn't you a bit I was fascinated that you came out with dry I think that's because it begins with dr doesn't it

Raj: yeah

Tess: dreigh in Scotland is this sort of day (.) dull grey gloomy possibly a bit wet a bit yugh (.) but you were all able to have a really good stab and come up with pretty accurate definitions for it without having any knowledge of scots because you had a knowledge of context(.) you were reading using context do you now understand how powerful a tool that is for reading and what's interesting is you were all unconscious you used that without even thinking about it didn't you so there's a strategy for learning a strategy that can be taught to some children who found that difficult (.) so that's context using context to help

(Line 171-207, Transcript B, Appendix 1).

Extract 20 below was taken from the group work activity on using scales as a resource, part of the session on supporting the National Curriculum Strategy for Maths: Measuring (31 March) (Transcript C, Appendix 1). One of the tasks was to identify how they were going to differentiate to meet the needs of different children. As the group did not manage to 'get that far', Tess modelled it for them. Understanding differentiation was required to obtain a merit in assignment one as follows: 'Explain how you would adapt the activities for pupils with particular needs' (CACHE, 2008:28). Tess used the strategy of a scenario to demonstrate how they could consider adapting an activity for children with visual impairment. She led them

through a series of questions that they might ask themselves, about the kinds of difficulties they might have and what could be done to help them, finishing by emphasising the need to ask suitable questions in order to arrive at a good solution. She ensured that the modelling was relevant by situating it within the primary classroom world, referring to the class participants directly as ‘you’ TAs, and even offering them scripts to use, for example, ‘You could actually use their (the children’s) hands and say “which one moves your hand more, that’s the heavier one... ..or even putting their hands on the bridge of the scales, so they can actually feel what’s happening to the balance of the scales”. Tannen’s (2007) discussion of ‘hypothetical’ dialogue mirrors the way that Georgakopoulou, (2007) alludes to ‘hypothetical’ stories or scenarios. This contrasts with how canonical stories (Labov and Waletzky, 1967) are usually considered, as reports about past events.

Extract 20:

Tess: How would you differentiate it?

CP: Didn't get that far.

Tess: That’s ok, I mean you know, there was a lot to do. Say you had a child who had visual impairments, so has a problem with their eyes, what’s the problem for that child? When you’re doing balances with them? They might have problems seeing what’s happening with the scales. You could actually use their hands and say which one moves your hand more, that’s the heavier one. Is there anything you could do with them and the scales, to help them get the idea about weighing an object? There’s nothing

stopping you... or even putting their hands on the bridge of the scales, so they can actually feel what's happening to the balance of the scales. Because otherwise they are not going to get that concept. You need to think about how am I going to do this in a more thoughtful way for someone who is visually impaired.

(Line 349-359, Transcript C, Appendix C).

By modelling, she was both giving the participants a better idea of what differentiation meant and showing them how it could be applied effectively in their TA work.

Extract 21 below is taken from the session on supporting pupils with Special Educational Needs, (Transcript D in Appendix 1). The class were discussing children with Downs Syndrome as part of an introductory gap filling exercise on issues relating to children with Special Educational Needs. Here, Tess modelled what might happen to a child with Downs Syndrome when a TA was supporting their learning of phonics. The purpose of the modelled scenario was to illustrate how short term memory might affect the learning of a child with Downs syndrome. In a similar way to personal narrative, this fleeting hypothetical scenario can be analysed in terms of the story world and the storytelling world, with the story being deeply embedded in the storytelling. In the story, for example, the definite way events are referred to: 'you did a phonics lesson with them on Monday', can be contrasted with the confused voice of the child in the indirect quotation 'they say I never heard this sound before'. The summing up of the scenario, the coda, 'that's because of the issue of short term to long term memory', brings the students fully back to the present in the storytelling world of the FE classroom. The worlds are deeply interwoven- the pronoun 'you' links the two

worlds: it refers to the TAs in their hypothetical future placement, working with a child with Down syndrome ,yet at the same time refers to the TAs in the FE classroom. By switching between the story telling world of FE to introduce and summarise the issue and the world of primary education for the scenario itself, the storyworld, Tess linked the classroom learning to the real world in an embedded and multi-layered fashion. By situating the scenario in the world of primary education, Tess was helping the TAs to imagine what a real issue might be like in their future workplace. Moreover, the modelling of the scenario also served a secondary purpose within the FE world, that of providing information for the class's first assignment. In the real world of their work placements, opportunities did not arise for working with some of these children, which is another reason why it was useful to model in the classroom what might occur in their future world of work and also to flag up what they need to cover to get their merit. TAs are obliged to comply with equality and diversity legislation. Being able to differentiate is one aspect of this compliance. For this reason, it is particularly important for the apprentice TAs to understand what this is and how to do it. The role of the TA in supporting the teacher is particularly important for the implementation of differentiation policy. Thus the mediating of the policy of equality and diversity for these adult students makes the once 'authoritative discourse' from the centre 'internally persuasive' (Bakhtin, 1981) through the creative re-telling of these abstract laws as personal stories and scenarios in settings that are relevant to present and future identities. As Bakhtin puts it:

“in the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half – ours and half-someone else's. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words [...] is applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into inter-animating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses” (1981:345-346)

Extract 21:

T: Short term memory is another issue. So, there may be a problem from learning something one day and that learning from their short term memory to their long term memory because it didn't stay in their short term memory long enough to make the progress into the long term memory. For instance you did a phonics lesson with them on Monday, on Tuesday you say can you remember what sound is this and they say I have never heard this sound before and simply don't recognize it and that's because of the issue of short term to long term memory.

(See Line 510-515, Transcript D, Appendix 1).

7.2.2.4 *Orienting to texts*

In the following extracts, I will show how Tess oriented the class to particular texts related to the CACHE TA course in order to mediate what Bakhtin (1981:342) refers to as 'authoritative' centralising discourses', which occurred in the texts . She did this in various ways. At times, she directed the class to specific texts, for example, in the episode on supporting the teacher in her delivery of the National Curriculum for English, she directed the student TAs to the National Curriculum document. In the episode on Special Education Needs, she directed the learners to the College's Virtual Learning Environment, Blackboard. In the episode on Health and Safety and the one on legislation and policy on 13 October, she directed the students to particular legislation, as found in the TA texts and government websites. Apart from directing the learners to texts, Tess and the class participants also talked around texts. Finally, Tess and the class participants can be seen creating new texts. These ways of orienting to text will be discussed below.

7.2.2.4.1 *Directing participants to text*

Extract 22 below was taken from the session on planning and accountability for learning (Transcription A, Appendix 1). In this extract, Tess was directing the participants to her own lesson plan, by waving it in the air and even reading from it, as an example of daily planning. There is some interesting creative use of ‘intertextuality’ (Kristeva, 1986:111) in the clause “give us this day our daily plan”, referencing the Christian Text, ‘the Lord’s Prayer’ but within a new context, in which new positions are adopted, drawing on Bakhtin’s notion of ventriloquation (1981). This is light hearted, humorous language play, which also reveals a compliant but slightly irreverent stance taken towards the new managerial discourse of planning for learning. In taking up this parodic stance, Tess distances herself from the notion of daily planning, positioning herself as an amusing co-conversant and aligning with the student position.

Extract 22

T: so for instance um here we are ((waves lesson plan in the air)) my daily planning give us this day our daily plan... this is my daily plan it i:s ((reading from it)) my aims for what I want to achieve... my objectives how I'm going to measure at the end of the session whether or not you've achieved it (.) it includes little things like don't forget to take them down to the library at 11 o'clock for the online initial assessment (Line 135-140, Transcript A, Appendix 1).

Extract 23 below was taken from the session on using the strategy of searchlights as cues in learning to read (Transcript B, Appendix 1). In this short extract, not only was Tess talking

about the strategy of ‘word recognition’ (the third searchlight, or clue, for learning to read), she and the class were also referring to the actual ‘flashcards’ as a semiotic resource that were taken home by children to practise word recognition. Of course, by referring to word recognition itself, as with other searchlights, Tess was orienting the TAs to the National Curriculum text itself.

Extract 23:

Tess: ...what other ways... what about the little tin that you can take home... what goes in the tin

Some CPs together: flashwords

Tess: flashwords flashwords um that is something called ((student whispers something inaudible)) well when I was doing my teacher training we called it block reading (.) nowadays they would probably refer to it as word recognition or sight reading (.) and what it is is(.) think about words like ‘the’ (.) you can’t sound it out you can’t go t-h-e(.) if you tried to do it th-e the that’s not going to tell you how to say ‘the’... there’s no clues in the word ‘the’ to help you recognise and pronounce that word so you’re just going to have to learn to be able to look at the word and think that’s ‘the’ so that’s block reading ok

(Line 207-216, Transcript B, Appendix 1).

Extract 24 is taken from the session on the topic of Special Educational Needs and the policy of differentiation (Transcript D, Appendix 1). In this short extract, Tess was moving from one topic to the next. In between she added some procedural comment which can be seen

below. Here, she was referring to her notes from the class which had been put together as a text, then saved and made available for viewing on the VLR (Virtual Learning Environment) as a reminder. By linking what they discussed to what she wrote for later reading, she was using multi-channel methods for the students.

Extract 24:

T: Now this will all be saved and available on blackboard as well so I know a lot of you like to take notes as you go along and that's a good way to help you remember stuff but if you wanted to go back to any of it will be saved on blackboard as well.

(Line 491-493, Transcript D, Appendix 1)

The following short extract (25) was taken from the session on 17 March 2009 in which Tess talked through issues relevant to the role of the TA in complying with the Health and Safety at Work Act (1974), in conjunction with the Children's Act 1989, especially as it related to Data Protection. Here Tess was referring indirectly directly to legislation, as found on the Government website and in the textbooks for TAs, where the TAs could access these.

Extract 25:

Tess: Now umm another thing you must take into account when thinking about ICT in schools is data protection ((Types up words)) and it's the Data Protection Act of 1998 and there is also the Children's Act... that's 1989.

(Line 560-562, Transcript E, Appendix 1).

In the next short extract (26), taken from the Session on 13 October, (Transcript F, Appendix 1: Dedicated Appendix for Chapter 7), Tess was preparing the class participants for the second assignment which included legislation, Code of Practice and school policy among other topics. In extract 26 below, the SEN Code of Practice, which the TAs have to comply with, was referred to by name (DfES, 2001). Moreover, one of the participants, who I call Toby, refers to another text, the CACHE handbook, in which the assignments were given, along with the criteria for what to include. P7 was one of those criteria. Tess then referred to other technical acronyms: P2, P7, P5 and P6, all of which were criteria for inclusion in the assignment, as laid out in the CACHE handbook (CACHE, 2008/9:32-33). See Appendix 5.2.2 for assignment 2 brief and criteria). The letter 'P' means Pass. These were the minimum criteria that the students had to meet in order to pass the course. The fact that Toby referred to P7 suggested that he was already familiar with them from assignment 1. (See Appendix 5.2.1 for assignment 1 brief and criteria). By referring to the assignment briefs in this way and unpacking the criteria for the class participants, she was mediating the assessment discourse of CACHE, the awarding body, and thus enabling the students to access the knowledge and use it for themselves. She was also 'appropriating' (Bakhtin, 1981:294) the words of the assignment brief, making them her own by 'accenting' 'the other's' words, and bringing out 'resonances' in those words (Bakhtin, 1981: 362). For example, as she explained the next activity in the extract, she used the authoritative term 'Code of Practice' but in relation to the local class context. She did this by talking humorously about 'making that Code of Practice happen', and by making it immediately relevant to the students' needs: 'this can go directly into your assignment'.

Extract 26:

Tess: What I want you to do now is stay in your groups and this time what I'm going to get you to look at is the role of the Teaching Assistant... Ha ha this can go direct into your assignments in making that Code of Practice happen (.) so you've got children in your school who for one reason or another have been identified as Special Educational Needs (.) we've got a whole list there of different special educational needs that might come up in school so what do you have to do as the teaching assistant (.) what are your responsibilities (.) what sort of examples can you think of things that you might be doing

Toby: P7

(Line 597-603, Transcript F, Appendix 1).

7.2.2.4.2 Talking around texts

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, there were plenty of examples of the class talking around text. I have selected a few to demonstrate how Tess employed this discursive resource extensively in the course of the year and to discuss all topics. She talked around text again to mediate the educational discourses emanating from the government of the time, for and with her class. In doing so, she was negotiating a dynamic tension between centripetal tendencies towards unification and standardisation and the inevitable, naturally occurring centrifugal tendencies towards 'stratification' in Bakhtin's (1984:67) terms. This process meant appropriating others' words and adapting them for a new context, adopting stances towards the topics emerging, in ways that aligned her with different social groups, yet always in relation to the co-participants.

In extract 27, taken from the session on planning and accountability for learning (Transcript A, Appendix 1), Tess talked about her ‘Scheme of Work’ document, which all teachers are required to create as a long term planning record (See Appendix 5.1 for sample pages). This is the document that teachers use as a base for their mid, short term and daily planning, as Tess noted in this session. Below, she was explaining what it consisted of and how it related to the curriculum, as laid out in the CACHE handbook. By constantly referring to the CACHE curriculum and related documents, she was ensuring that what she taught them would give them the information they needed to qualify: (See CACHE, 2008:7-15 for syllabus). As she says, ‘that is the curriculum (.) that is what I have to make sure I teach to you before the end of the year’. As I pointed out in Chapter 2, the new importance placed on accreditation at the time of the study was at the heart of this. By making the text part of the interaction between Tess and the class, through the use of first and second person pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’, and stating the curriculum was something she ‘had to’ teach ‘by the end of the year’, Tess was re-contextualising the discourse of ‘planning for learning’ and ‘target setting’ and taking a stance, that is, that teaching the CACHE curriculum was an external obligation, possibly at a distance from her own beliefs and values. However, at the same time, it is important to note that Tess played a crucial centralising role. This example illustrates the tension (as Bakhtin would see it) between the stance she takes towards official discourses and the need to provide the students with the information that they required to pass the course and gain accreditation.

Extract 27:

T: long term planning would be something like [what]I had in my file here ((looking in file)) I'll just hold that up for you ((holding something up)) this is my scheme of

work (.) runs to about 5 pages and it details 36 weeks' worth of work for you guys so week by week I have a general idea of what I plan to do and it is clearly related to the curriculum that's spelt out in your CACHE handbook (CACHE,2008:7-15) .

You're welcome to look at it but don't worry if you don't understand it yeah because that is the curriculum that is what I have to make sure I teach to you before the end of the year (Line 103-109, Transcript A, Appendix 1).

The following additional extract (28) is taken from later on in the session on 24 Feb 2009, on supporting the National Curriculum for English. (Appendix 4.2: 9-28) The class was engaged in a plenary session at the end of the morning. They had just watched a 'Teachers TV' programme, particularly designed for teaching assistants, in which an expert on dyslexia 'looks in more detail at things that you as a TA can do'. Before showing the programme, Tess had reminded the participants of their role in supporting reading by saying 'clearly you have a role in how you support the children (.) it might be listening to them read, it might be encouraging them (.) it might be correcting them for sounding things out wrong (.) it might be reminding the child to sound out a word (.) it might be giving prompts'. Here, by talking around the text (in this instance, a Teachers' TV programme), the participants would be given an opportunity to think about what they had learnt that might add to what they already knew about supporting reading, especially the reading of children with dyslexia, in relation to the searchlights. She referred to some key ideas from the course curriculum such as phonics, visual recognition, context, strategies for reading, dyslexia and self-esteem. Tess re-contextualised (Bakhtin, 1981) educational discourses such as the discourse around raising self-esteem in the area of Supporting Special Educational Needs. For example, she took the

abstract concept of ‘dyslexia’, one Special Educational Need, and re-situated it within the primary school work place, at the same time linking it to the role of the TA. She also re-situated it within the students’ local lifeworlds, relating it to the role of the parent or adult. In this way, by the end of the year, the students were making concepts such as dyslexia or autism personally meaningful or ‘internally persuasive’ Bakhtin, (1981:345).

Extract 28:

Tess: Right. What did you learn?

CP: How to deal with dyslexics ((laughter))

Tess: So I mean how many of you were familiar with dyslexia already?

CP: (My son has dyslexia)

Tess: So you already have some background on this? You had some background. Did this relate to your knowledge?

CP: ((talks very softly. I can’t catch what she is saying until she says)) and then he came to college. He says “I can’t read this..” ((In an exaggerated bolshie voice))

Tess: Yes, because the trouble is once they’ve lost (.) a significant amount of their confidence (.) it’s very hard to make them feel motivated enough to go for it. So you need to intervene as quickly as possible and as early as possible you know (.) and (.) be persistent (.) you know ...once that boy started reading that book it made a massive difference to him.

CP: I said to him “if you can’t read, why have you passed your writing test”

((laughter))

Tess: ((laughs)) He can read when he wants to

CP: Yeah yeah.. he's just

Tess: Exactly. You know and that's again... children with disabilities. they're still children (.) you know some of them are going to be very motivated and they'll push through and they'll find strategies and they'll manage in spite of...other children have the personality "if it's hard, forget it ..what else can I do"

(Lines 8-26, Appendix 4.2)

The following example of talk around text was taken from the session in on supporting the National Curriculum Strategy for Maths on 31 March 2009 (Transcript C, Appendix 1). In extract 29, the section highlighted in bold was a Learning Outcome (also called a 'unit objective') taken verbatim from the National Curriculum document. The participants already knew the term 'learning outcome', from the session on 27 January on planning and from subsequent sessions on the National Curriculum for English. They had also come across it in their schools, as they volunteered that information on 27 Jan. As the National Curriculum is couched in formal authoritative discourse, using the technical language of maths such as 'estimate, measure, weight, compare, objects, suitable, uniform, standard, non-standard, units', Tess started by asking for a 'real world' explanation of this, as seen in the extract below. She asked a question applied to actual primary classroom TA practice: "what would really happen with the children if you were doing that?" By asking this question, she was linking the institutional worlds of National Curriculum with that of the primary education classroom to help the trainee TAs 'make sense' of the content in relation to their work experience and future roles.

Extract 29:

Tess: [...] What are you going to do next?

CP: **Estimate. “Measuring the weight and comparing objects choosing and using suitable uniform of standard or non- standard units”** (Unit objective) (DfEE, 1998, NNSF: 7)

Tess: Absolutely, tell us what that means in reality, what would really happen with the children if you were doing that?

CP: We were asking them to put one object on one side of the scales like one teddy bear, and comparing it with a carrot to see which one was heavier and which one was lighter.

Tess: So what are the phrases you would use?

CP: This one goes up, this one goes down.

(Line 333-340, Transcript C, Appendix 1)

Extract 30 below on copyright was taken from the audio-recording relating to the session on 17 March (Transcript E, Appendix 1). Here it is clear that Tess was talking about a particular text, as outlined under copyright law. Again, it is interesting to note the way she ‘appropriated’ (Bakhtin, 1981:294) the legal discourse by re-contextualising it. She did this by relating it specifically to the TA’s future workplace, as indicated by the information she gave regarding copywriting, reference to schools and the kind of resources the TAs might be using.

Extract 30:

Tess: And the only other thing to think about is copyright ((Typing up word)) (.) there are some quite big copyright laws so if you are going to use some material in class you need to make sure you have the copyright to use it, a lot of schools will have copyright licences and they will subscribe to various providers so you are probably very safe but there are some pieces of stuff that you may have hold of that you might not be entitled to use in a public place. You are generally a lot safer in a school, but obviously, if you are using music for instance, that could well come under copyright. That isn't covered by the school or film isn't covered by the school. You just need to take that into account.

(Line 570-578, Transcript E, Appendix 1).

Extract 31 below is taken from the session on the topic of Legislation, code of practice and school policy assignment. (Transcript F, Appendix 1).

The whole episode could be said to be 'talk around texts', e.g. Legislation, Code of Practice and School policy, relating to Health and Safety, Special Education Needs or even behaviour policy. In Extract 31, this is clearly illustrated, as Raj, one of the class participants, negotiated with Tess her understanding of what was required in the assignment. In the course of this exchange, Raj was trying to understand what exactly was required, in terms of the Code of Practice, the policy and the law. She used a check question form 'is it' for clarification, she also made references to previous sessions versus 'today', she employed the term 'co-ordinator' and the word 'so' to clarify the next step and summary statement 'so that's what we have to write as the er code of practice' to check she has understood correctly. There is

clearly quite a lot of confusion, judging by the questions the adult learners such as this one ask. This extract is just one example of numerous other exchanges of this kind in which Tess and members of the class collaborate in the building of knowledge through talk. (Mercer, 1995). The informal and somewhat indirect term of address 'you guys' used by Tess is typical of this kind of collaborative talk. Terms of address are associated with tenor and interpersonal meaning (Halliday, 1994).

Extract 31:

Raj: So what we're doing today (.) it's still a policy is it

Tess: Yeah it can either be (.) so did you write that up as Health and Safety law last week yeah

Raj: Yeah

Tess: So today if you wanted to you can talk about your school's Special Educational Needs policy and how it's based on the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice and stuff like that and then what do you have to do as a teaching assistant to help (.) so for instance it might be:: preparing resources for children (yeah) adapting equipment for children

Raj: So that's what we have to write as the er code of practice

Tess: Yeah so basically this is just giving you the background so you can then write up it's also part of your overall learning for the curriculum of the course (.) these are things I need to cover with you guys um for the purposes of um our curriculum that we have to teach to

(Line 626-637, Transcript F, Appendix 1).

7.2.2.4.3 *Creating Texts*

I now move on to discuss how Tess and the class were involved in creating text, one of the ways that they orient to textual resources. I have chosen examples from the session on planning (Transcript A, Appendix 1) and on supporting the curriculum for English (Transcript B, Appendix 1). I will also refer to others already mentioned, to demonstrate the way that texts were frequently created, as well as referred to and talked around.

In the session where Tess was discussing planning, she was directing the participants to planning sheets. At the same time, she was creating her own text (a diagram) on the flipchart to indicate how the different types of planning fitted together. She was also writing notes on the smart board. In the extract 32 below, we see that the texts Tess created, (including the diagram), served at least five purposes. Firstly, the diagram served as a way of explaining the use of multisensory methods to support learning. Secondly, as with the summaries she made on the smart board, using ‘notepad’ and later ‘word’, the diagram would be transferred to the VLR (Virtual Learning Environment), Blackboard, after the class, to help the participants who couldn’t come to class to catch up with what they had missed. Thirdly, all the blackboard notes served as an aide- mémoire for the students after the session. Fourthly, they proved useful for students for whom English was an additional or second language or for students with writing difficulties, who found it hard to take down notes in class. Finally, the notes, including the diagram, also served as a summary for Tess, of what she had covered in the lesson, feeding into providing a record for evidence, both for OFSTED and for her own records, thus showing accountability. As can be seen here, all these modes contribute in some

way to meaning-making and would form part of what Halliday terms semiotic resources ([1985]1997).

Extract 32:

Tess: ((Tess draws a diagram on the flipchart showing the different types of planning. She also writes up notes on the smart board as they discuss planning, using notepad. Field notes, 27 Jan 2009))... as you um become more involved in school they may start giving you planning sheets (.) um schools plan for a variety of time schedules(.) you got um long term planning(..) mid-term (.) and weekly (..) excuse the ditto marks but my pen's running out so I'm trying to.. so that's obviously all planning.

(Line 99-102, Transcript A, Appendix 1).

In extract 33, taken from the session on supporting the National Curriculum for English (Transcript B, Appendix 1), Tess was talking through the searchlight term 'word recognition', as part of a general introductory discussion on helping pupils to develop their reading. In order to explain it, she used the example of the letter combination 'oo' in 'look' and drew the 'oo' as eyes with eyelashes on the whiteboard, to make the association, as she had seen children doing, thus creating text. By doing this, Tess was demonstrating the strategy of using a 'visual mnemonic' to remember a 'oo' when sight reading, in the spirit of multisensory learning.

Extract 33:

T: you can use some simple visual strategies to help children with their word recognition so for instance I have been known to do things like when I was teaching 'oo' I would write 'look' and then I would go ((draws something on the board)) yeah (.) it's a visual mnemonic cos a lot of children when they're trying to remember how to do the 'oo' sound I've watched them write 'look' draw the eyes in and then go back and it helps them remember [...]and it's just they're a kind of like visual mnemonics by mnemonic I mean a little strategy a poem or um a picture
(Line 217-226, Transcript B, Appendix 1).

Apart from the examples discussed in this section on creating text, there were other instances. For example, the session on supporting pupils learning to measure (Transcript C, Appendix 1), was taken specifically from a feedback session on group work, in which participants had to plan a measuring activity to do with their children, discuss differentiation for a special need and link it to a learning outcome. They had thus created a kind of text which served as a base for the feedback session mentioned. (See extract 29 above for example). Similarly, in the 13 October session, Transcription F, Appendix 1, the class devised a long list of different Special Needs: "we've got a whole list there of different special educational needs that might come up in school" (Line 600-601, Transcript F, Appendix 1). The list was functional yet creative. It was created as a way of reflecting on issues relating to Special Education Needs that might or had occurred in their classrooms. They needed to use the list to prepare for assignment two, to consider how legislation and school policy were linked to the SEN Code of Practice and how they as TAs should support it.

7.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I demonstrated how Tess and the adult learners in her class engaged in dialogic teaching and learning practices. They achieved this by collaborating in building TA knowledge through their pedagogic talk. I also showed how Tess was pragmatic in her compliance with the ‘official educational discourses’ underpinning the topics in the CACHE curriculum. She managed this by appropriating the discourses and adapting them to her own purposes and for her audience, taking a stance on the topic under consideration and in so doing, positioning herself with regard to the class.

Bakhtin’s (1981) theory of dialogism provides a useful overarching framework for bringing together the different ways that Tess negotiated the dynamic tension between the centripetal forces of standardisation, under the auspices of ‘raising standards’, and the centrifugal forces of local Further Education Vocational class diversity and the student centred pedagogy of FE tutors at that time. In chapter 8, I will therefore discuss and summarise the findings through the lens of dialogism.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION – THE FINDINGS VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF BAKHTIN’S NOTION OF DIALOGISM

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the key findings from chapter 6 and 7, by focusing on Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism. His overarching notion of dialogism, and the related concept of heteroglossia were introduced in chapter 4. In section 8.2, I discuss the identities and relationships negotiated along continua of power, solidarity and social distance that were analysed in chapter 6. In teasing out the subtle shifts in identity and how class participants positioned themselves and each other in this chapter of the thesis, I have found it fruitful to draw on Bakhtin’s notion of ‘interanimation of voices’. As I indicated in chapter 4, Bakhtin saw the interanimation of voices occurring within and across utterances, and this specific concept was underpinned by the broader notion of heteroglossia. I have also employed specific research lenses developed by several other researchers, whose ideas resonate with the ideas of Bakhtin. I was initially inspired by Goffman’s (1959) use of a theatrical metaphor and by his characterisation of self-presentation in everyday life as performance in interaction. His concept of ‘footing’ (1981) is also relevant to the study of identity construction and positioning. I have also drawn on the work of Wortham (2001), who has developed a useful framework to analyse narrative-in-interaction, identity and positioning, building empirically on Bakhtin’s ideas about ‘voicing’ and ‘ventriloquation’ and on Davies and Harré’s (1990) ideas about positioning. In addition, I have found it useful to draw on Tannen ([1989] 2007)’s notion of constructed dialogue, originally developed from Bakhtin’s ideas on reported speech.

Her work has allowed me to reveal insights into the interactional purpose of using quotation in narrative-in-interaction as well as into the ways in which positions are taken up creatively. These ideas have been outlined in chapter 4. Brief excerpts from chapter 6 are discussed here in relation to these ideas.

In section 8.3, I go on to consider Bakhtin's conceptualisation of the dynamic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces (1981:272). This is another key aspect of heteroglossia and dialogism that guided my analysis in chapter 7. In relation to this tension and to make sense of the intricate ways that Tess the tutor mediated centripetally oriented discourses for and with her adult vocational students, in the local classroom interaction context, I have found it helpful to draw on Bakhtin's notion of creative 'appropriation' (1986:89) and his notions of 'authoritative' and 'internally persuasive' discourses. However, 'authoritative' and 'internally persuasive' discourses can only ever be conceived in relative terms because of Bakhtin's characterisation of language as dialogic. In section 8.4, I offer some concluding reflections.

8.2 Interanimation of voices through shifting identities: the findings presented in Chapter 6

In analysing the classroom data presented in Chapter 6, I found that analytic concepts and frameworks traditionally applied in studies of classroom discourse, such as the IR(F) exchange structure, failed to capture the dynamic and fluid nature of the interactions between the tutor in this study and the adult participants in her class. The IR (F) structure is a somewhat rigid framework which was first devised by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) in research related to teacher-student interactions in large classes in secondary schools. As I

indicated at the end of section 6.2.2.2, the dynamics of the interactions in this class could not be adequately characterised by simply stating that Tess initiated exchanges, one or more class participants responded, and that sometimes Tess provided feedback and sometimes not.

I felt the need to adopt a conceptual framework that would enable me to capture the highly subtle ways in which the mutual synchronization of contributions to classroom conversations was achieved and the ways in which each speaker's utterances brought others to life. I also needed a way of explaining the constant shifting in and out of different identities and the complex ways in which different worlds were evoked, both within and between utterances. Although Goffman's notions 'self-presentation' and of 'footing' come close to identifying the fine-grained shifting of stance and alignment within and between utterances, I wanted to go further and look at these within a wider context. For this I needed to go beyond the scope of Interactional Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking and to adopt a broader orienting theory that would encompass both the fine-grained detail of the interactional flows and the broader social and institutional context in which the classroom interactions were taking place.

For these reasons, I turned to the overarching Bakhtinian ideas of "dialogism" (Bakhtin, 1981:284) and the related notion of "heteroglossia" (1984:67), which have already been briefly discussed in chapter 4. I turned, specifically, to the idea of the "inter-animation (or inter-illumination/mutual illumination) of voices", which is underpinned by the broader notion heteroglossia. Bakhtin described the interanimation of voices as being where "different viewpoints, conceptual horizons, systems for providing expressive accents and

various social ‘languages’, come to interact with each other” (1981:282) . He sees this interanimation of voices as “the major relativizing force in de-privileging languages, when one ‘language’ (or language within a language, i.e. social language/ genre, etc.) sees itself in the light of another” (1981:68). Adopting the idea of interanimation of voices enabled me to get closer to the fluidity of the interactional practices in this class and the ways in which participants took on different voices from the wider context, appropriating them for their own goals and in relation to their addressees. It also enabled me to provide a fuller account of the nature and significance of the shifts back and forth between different identities and worlds both within the utterances of the tutor and across utterances between participants.

Before turning to specific excerpts from the classroom discourse analysed in chapter 6, I will touch briefly here on other key concepts that I drew on in my analysis in that chapter. In chapter 4, apart from Bakhtin’s notions of dialogism and heteroglossia, I also mentioned voicing and ventriloquation, two Bakhtinian ideas that Wortham (2001) developed (section 4.6.5) and the section on Tannen’s (2007) notion of constructed dialogue. This was also a development on Bakhtin’s ideas on reported speech (section 4.6.6). Further to this, and relevant to chapter 6, Goffman’s concept of ‘footing’ (4.3.1) and related notions of stance and alignment were also useful (4.6.2), as well as post-structuralist approaches to identity and positioning (4.5.2) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou’s (2008) conceptualisation and analysis of ‘small stories’ (4.6.3). Together, the notions of voicing, ventriloquation, the interanimation of voices and constructed dialogue provided a powerful research lens on the kind of classroom data that I was analysing. All these notions fall under the umbrella of Bakhtin’s overarching theory of dialogism.

To make Bakhtin's theory of dialogism relevant to analysis of adult vocational classroom talk in educational contexts, I need to point out that central to this theory is the notion of 'immediate utterance'. For Bakhtin, the dialogic element lies in the two-sided nature of the word. For him the word is "determined equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant" (1984:86). By 'whose word it is', he meant that the word is determined by the speaker or addressor's "inner world and thought [which] has its stabilised social audience that comprises the environment in which reason, motives, values and so on are fashioned"(Ibid). Bakhtin explains the fashioning of meanings according to the addressee with a personal example as follows. He says: "I give myself verbal shape from another's point of view of the community to which I belong" (Ibid).

Thus in the process of uttering, the speaker is both looking back to environments and contexts in which the words are fashioned, according to particular previous values, beliefs and motives and, at the same time, looking forward to the addressee's response to these words. In this way, words have to be extracted from previous contexts and adapted for use in new contexts for these particular addressees, by a speaker or writer. Moreover, each speaker or writer puts forward a particular stance on a topic and in so doing, assumes a particular alignment to a social group or groups. This is what Bakhtin means by dialogism in relation to language in general.

So, if they are understood in accordance with Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, Tess's words and those of the class are already those of others, said in other contexts and according to others' beliefs and values. Tess and her class are 'voicing' the social groups these words emanate

from e.g. their professional groups, their age groups, their private social groups within their local life worlds, through relatively stable socially shaped linguistic resources and genres. However, in the mouths of Tess and her adult class participants, the words take on a particular colour or perspective at the local level, in accordance with how they want them to be seen (or understood) by the listeners/participants in this new context, that is, they both ‘voice’ the social groups to whom they belong in terms of socially shaped language resources, genres, etc. and ‘ventriloquate’, or put their own slant on the words, according to how they want to project themselves in anticipation of a response.

I can see resonances here with Goffman’s conceptualisation of ‘self -presentation’ (1959) and the idea of ‘impression management’ (ibid) as outlined in chapter 4, section 4.3.1. Though we now acknowledge that Bakhtin’s world enables us to make stronger links with the wider social context, Goffman did, of course, build significant new inroads into the study of face to face interaction. Goffman talks about the way people present themselves in certain ‘enabling’ so that others (the addressees) gain a certain impression of them. Speakers’ performances are based on their beliefs and values and what they believe to be important to their addressees, in the particular context of the utterance. Similarly, in my data, the speakers can generally be seen to be presenting themselves in a particular way, based on their notions of what they think their addressees will believe is appropriate, again based on their own beliefs and the values of their worlds, as articulated through the genres and social languages of their groups, but also by projecting a particular alignment through the stance they take towards a particular topic and how they align with a particular addressee. Moreover, as mentioned in chapter 4.3.1, in discussing the way that the self is presented, through changes in footing, Goffman

demonstrates the complexity involved, for example, in how participation frameworks are subject to transformation and production processes are multi-layered (1981: 153). This brings to mind the complex ways in which the class participants and Tess told stories: they constantly switched roles and moved in and out of identities in the process of telling a story, giving an account of themselves and positioning themselves, both within and across utterances. For this reason, it is important, not only to focus on particular utterances but also on the situational context as a whole, and following Bakhtin, the wider social context.

From Bakhtin's central notion of dialogism, and the related concept of heteroglossia, I move on now to the more specific concept of 'interanimation of voices'. (See chapter 4 for a brief definition). This resonated with my analysis of the communicative processes of work in the classroom in my study and, in particular with those I focused on in chapter 6, namely, the shifting and juxtaposed identities and relationships being constructed along a continuum of unequal power relations. Bakhtin (1981:275) argues that "the primordial dialogism of discourse" can be identified in the ways in which one speaker's concrete utterances come into contact with or "interanimate" the utterances of others (ibid). Similarly, one voice can come in contact with or 'interanimate' another voice, both across and within a single utterance. I show in chapter 6 how an interanimation of voices was noticeable in the stable though still dynamic 'communicative practices and generic resources that the participants drew on. Bakhtin (1986) calls these resources 'speech genres' and 'social languages'. This approach to the analysis of classroom talk is particularly pertinent to the study of adult education classrooms such as the one I was concerned with since it could be argued that talk in such classrooms can create space for a range of voices to interanimate each other and, in so doing,

can 'afford'-sometimes does, some opportunity for learning to take place. This dialogic aspect of adult education is valued by practitioners who espouse Neo-Vygotskian, student-centred approaches to learning as do Tess, the tutor and her fellow Further Education tutors. (See Chapter 2 for discussion).

The communicative resources drawn upon by participants in the class in this study, to engage with each other's contributions to each topic, included generic resources such as narrative. This included longer narratives and "small stories" (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). They also drew on various social languages, for example, the age-related social language of adults (vs. children), language relating to geographical area, to position in the different educational institutions (e.g. student vs. tutor at college) or language relating to position in the workplace and language in local life worlds. Furthermore, though not focused on here, they drew on non-verbal contextualisation cues relating to their knowledge of the context of education and the classroom, such as putting up of hands, knowing when to speak and when not to, knowing who would take the lead, and who would follow. These different 'languages', genres and other symbolic cues interacted with one another and, in so doing, inter-animated or inter-illuminated each other.

Further to the idea of 'voicing' social groups, the individual participants in my study were taking stances towards topics and adopting positions by juxtaposing and speaking through others' voices. Bakhtin uses metaphors like "highlight", "accent" (1981:362) and "refraction" (1981:276) to describe how speakers and writers bring out various "resonances" through this juxtapositioning of voices in order to position themselves in the interaction. It is this

‘accenting’ that Bakhtin termed ‘ventriloquation’ and it occurred within and across utterances in the data I analysed in chapter 6. These stance takings and the positionings assumed through adopting voices in relation to other voices, (what Bakhtin calls “accents”), can align with previous voices or can challenge the previous positions or do something in between. The way that different meanings are adopted or challenged in relation to previous contexts and in anticipation of the responses of audiences, Bakhtin also saw as the specific ways in which different voices inter-animate or inter-illuminate each other.

Two examples of interanimation of voices, which occurred in chapter 6, can be referred to here to illustrate the points I have made above, one is an example of interanimation of voices across utterances and one is an example of interanimation of voices within one utterance. One example, that occurred across utterances involved the telling of what Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) call “small stories”. I am thinking of a particular day in the class when such stories were told by different class participants during a discussion on language repertoires. In these stories, exchanged on 10 March 2009, class participants took on more egalitarian relationships, performing identities as adults relating to their local life worlds. As we saw in extract 17, the participants ‘voiced’ their particular social group’s attitudes to aspects of the English language and about several language users of English. For example, Amy voiced a particularly disapproving position in referring to non-English speakers “babbling away in Norwegian “ on a English game server when there was a ‘lone Brit’ online (line 3) and about people who used “broken” English, i.e. not a correct, legitimate version of English (line 6) . However, in extract 16, part of the same exchange, another participant, Emmy, had given voice to a completely different position in her small story about a Polish

girl. In her telling, she had voiced a position of openness to multilingualism and language repertoire. In her account of the story, English was not referred to as being the only legitimate language and there had been no suggestion that it should be used 'correctly'. Thus it could be said that the two voices interanimated each other, bringing to the foreground, for the purpose of discussion, totally opposed stances towards language use and language legitimacy, stances which indexed wider group ideologies but also conveyed the values and beliefs of the individual speakers within this particular context.

Similarly, interanimation of voices can occur within one utterance, as can be seen in the following example, taken from extract 4, line 9-10 where the tutor switches pronoun to demonstrate a switch in voice, from 'I' and 'you' when voicing being a tutor to 'we' when voicing being a fellow professional practitioner. In fact, Tess echoed the voices of many different groups, from different worlds within her utterances, as was shown in chapter 6. She switched seamlessly between identities, using language strategically to take up positions and, by so doing, aligning herself with class participants as well as other social and professional groups and encouraging them to align themselves with herself and with these groups.

Moreover, where participants were in alignment, there was greater evidence of discussion synchronisation. Mirroring through the repetition of lexico-grammatical features was one instance of such synchronisation. For example, in extract 1, line 1-2, from the data recorded on 27 January, 2009, we saw class participants echo Tess's choice of the pronoun 'we'. Similarly, Tess synchronised with the class participants by repeating the same lexical items, e.g in line 2-3 or 6-7 of the same extract. Mirroring of 'voices' and attitudes across turns,

what Bakhtin calls ‘unidirectional’ double voicing, is another way in which class participants achieved synchrony. Take, for example, extract 3, the longer extract, taken from the recording on 17 March 2009, in which we see the echoing of fearful attitudes towards doing ICT. These attitudes and this stance-taking were articulated by some of the students and by the tutor herself.

To capture some of the more detailed intricacies of these processes of interanimation of voices and to link this idea to that of identity and positioning, I found it useful to look at the work of a researcher who had developed Bakhtin’s ideas in extended empirical work (Wortham,2001). From a reading of Bakhtin it is difficult to see how the highly abstract notions of voicing and ventriloquation can be identified in empirical work focusing on everyday interactions. This was because these ideas were primarily directed towards the analysis of literature, especially novels, which Bakhtin claimed were the literary genre where the interanimation of voices could mainly be seen. Moreover, Bakhtin did not specifically talk about identity and positioning. So while Bakhtin’s ideas served as compelling starting points, language analysts such as Wortham (2001) drew on other researchers as well to devise a more productive framework for analysing interaction. This took into account how voice and ventriloquation were actually realised in language uses, but also how these ideas related to identity and positioning in interaction, especially narrative in interaction.

Wortham operationalized ideas such as voice and ventriloquation, positioning and identity, in terms of uses of language resources such as reference, predication, quotation, ventriloquation, evaluative indexicals and epistemic modalisation, amongst others. By analysing how language

is being used in a particular interaction, but especially in narrative-in-interaction, Wortham showed how the analyst can identify how participants position themselves in relation to each other and to the stories they tell, in terms of both representation and enactment. Focusing on positioning in this way reveals new and hidden dimensions of the ways in which identities are taken on in the interaction and, eventually, across different interactions to establish firmer identities. In this study, and particularly in my analysis in chapter 6, Wortham's framework helped to identify the different voices that occurred, particularly in the stories and in the storytelling worlds evoked.

Another example of interanimation of voices within the same utterance, analysed using Wortham's framework, was where only a fragment of a story was in evidence. I took this to be an instance of a "small story" (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). One could say it was a fleeting fragment of a story, or embedded in the present. The example I have in mind came in excerpt 9, where Tess, the tutor, was describing her experience of being a school pupil, voicing the identity of someone who was weak at sport and being bullied by her PE teacher. We can see how she uses particular language resources to enact the powerless position of the pupil in that context when she says she was 'being shouted at to try harder'. Interanimating with this voice (of a victim of bullying) is the voice of a survivor, or even a rebel in the storytelling world, using mental processes and strong deontic modality to express her emotional position in opposition to the teacher : 'I needed to be allowed to do different kinds of sporting exercises' for her audience. For her audience, reporting of first- hand experience in the story world adds credibility to her tale, While Wortham (2001) suggested some features to focus on in analysing such narratives, in fact, Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional

Linguistic framework provides further options, such as transitivity analysis. In excerpt 9, the two voices interanimating are within one utterance, representing a past self (the victim of bullying in the narrated world) and a present self (the survivor of bullying in the storytelling or narrating world, reporting an event and in so doing, transforming the trauma into a learning experience for the benefit of her addressees. Here the story is in the background and the storytelling is in the foreground. So we see that Wortham's framework, underpinned by Bakhtin's vision, and combined with and the notion of "small stories", captured by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), enabled us to gain deeper insights into these fleeting identity switches, holding them under the microscope, as it were.

Yet another example where the narrative is foregrounded, but still fleeting and occurring within the interaction, comes in extract 6. Again one can see an interanimation of different voices, if one approaches the narrative-in-interaction in the way that Wortham does, linking identity construction and positioning with the use of language resources such as reference and predication, quotation, stance adverbials, and even epistemic modalisation. In this story, Tess is being made to feel small by her husband, who is an expert in new technology, because of her novice use of ICT. What is interesting here is again the purpose of the story for the interlocutors in the storytelling world, though the story has more substance. Here, in the story, there is interanimation between three different voices within one utterance: the voices of the two opposing characters within the narrative, the victim wife and bully husband, and in the storytelling world-for the benefit of the TA student listeners, who are would-be teaching assistants (TAs)-the voice of the survivor fighting back, challenging this scenario. The purpose of this story can be identified within the wider context of tutoring trainee Teacher

Assistants as a 'what not to do' scenario. Thus the story is a projection into the future, towards a response by the audience.

I found Wortham's framework productive as it allowed me to analyse identity and positioning within the context of narrative-in-interaction, by considering specific linguistic features when analysing the discursive construction of the story world. In the above example, I focused on the way that the characters were referred to in the story, the way that the characters 'talked' to each other and, in the storytelling world, on the way that quotation was exploited by the tutor for teaching purposes and the way that the story was presented as first-hand experience. All this helped to build an understanding of the positions taken up and the identities adopted in relation to each other, in both the narrated world and the storytelling world.

The notions of stance and alignment, as outlined by Baynham (2011) in relation to interviews (in 4.6.2.), can also be applied in the analysis of classroom data of this sort in ways that complement and extend this framework. They point in a similar way to the positions taken up by speakers in relation to each other, in adopting particular stances on a topic, based on their own values and beliefs and projected towards a particular audience, displaying particular alignments. In this study, I found that Tess aligned with the class participants, and all victims of bullying, when she told her own story of how she was made to look small. At the same time, she was aligning with her professional group, when she took up the position of advisor, to demonstrate to the class participants how important it is not to make pupils feel small. At moments like this, she was taking up the position of 'survivor', and making suggestions about what they should do if they are put into a position similar to hers. This kind of analysis is

highly complex and the explicit framework for analysis devised by Wortham is helpful in untangling the relationships between characters in the world of the ‘story’ and in the ‘story telling’ world, and in recognising them in terms of the positions of the different co-participants and the positions of past and present selves in interanimation.

While Wortham (2001) employed the notion of “quotation” in his analysis of what people say (direct and indirect speech), how people say it (metapragmatic verbs and expressions) and how this positions them in the talk, I that found Tannen’s (2007) concept of “constructed dialogue” went further than Wortham’s to unravel what was actually going on when participants employed quotation and reported speech in their talk. As I pointed out in Chapter 4, while also drawing on Bakhtin in formulating this concept, Tannen (2007) identified 10 ways in which dialogue is constructed or invented. In so doing, she shines a light on some of the reasons why direct speech is so ubiquitous in talk-in-interaction, and why it is so revealing in understanding both the story and the storytelling world. For example, in the example cited above, Tess was not actually quoting verbatim but constructing or inventing dialogue for the purpose of modelling to the trainee teaching assistants what it was like to feel small and what not to do to others in similar positions of trust in their future educational workplaces.

Another example where constructed dialogue is apparent is in extract 14, recorded on 10 March 2009, when Tess was using her ‘posh’ telephone voice. Tess was probably not using the exact words uttered in one particular phone call that she remembered. Instead, in the story world, she was ‘voicing’ the dominant classes and producing the kind of voice she usually put on when she answered the phone to a stranger. She was doing this with a particular goal in mind, to be favourably recognised and responded to. So in the storytelling world, she was

indicating how useful an RP accent was but she was also making another point, ventriloquating, in fact, in the storytelling world for her addressees. By exaggerating the voice in carnivalesque (Bakhtin, [1965] 1993) fashion, she was distancing herself from it as ‘normal’ and, in so doing, aligning herself with her students who did not all normally speak with RP accents.

To sum up, the complexity and fluidity of the interaction in this classroom and the intense inter-animation of voices may well be due to the fact that all the participants, tutor and learners, were adults. While some traditional approaches to classroom discourse and interaction may well apply in research in school contexts, where the voices of students are often given less space, in this adult education context, we see both the tutor and the class participants navigating the demands of the vocational education curriculum together and, as I will show in the next section, we see the teacher mediating authoritative discourses and texts for the students, moving in and out of different identities as she does this, using the pronoun ‘we’ in multiple ways, putting her own *spin* on different educational and legal discourses, employing different ‘accents’ or ‘voices’ to do this, taking different stances on topics that have to be covered, and, always bearing in mind her perceptions of the needs of her addressees.

8.3 Voices of authority vs. heteroglossia-managing the dynamic tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces: the findings presented in Chapter 7

As I showed in chapters 2 and 7, the authoritative (centralising) discourses in this adult vocational educational context included: (1.) discourses around the raising of educational

standards in order to compete in a global economy. The raising of standards was represented as being accomplished through standardisation of teaching and learning practices, based on the National Curriculum and the accreditation of national vocational education e.g. TA certification; (2.) discourses associated with the new managerialism, with its business style planning and target setting, leading to statistical comparisons and accountability. This approach to management was seen as a necessary means of achieving the standardisation mentioned above ; (3.) discourses about compliance with legislation relating to the vocational education area. In this case the discourses pertaining to working in the primary education sector as a Teaching Assistant, as laid down by the national government of the day, namely a Labour government, and other bodies, such as the European Union.

In educational institutions such as this College, there is always a pull towards central unified discourses about the curriculum. In the case of the class in this study, the pull was towards discourses related to the future workplaces of classroom assistants, that is, the primary education sector, and towards this specialised area of the vocational education curriculum, the training of Teaching Assistants to aid the raising of standards mentioned above. (These points were discussed at some length in Chapter 2). However, as Bakhtin (1981) has noted, it is difficult to sustain these unified, authoritative discourses. There is always a tension between centripetal (centralising, unifying) forces and centrifugal (decentralising, disunifying) forces, in discourses as well as in other dimensions of social life, and importantly, this tension is always being played out at the point of utterance. As Bakhtin put it:

“Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralisation and

decentralisation, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance” (1981:272).

Moreover, unification is not given but has to be fought for and maintained. As Bakhtin argues, there is always a simultaneous, naturally occurring centrifugal pull toward diversity, including diversity of ways of speaking and writing – towards different discourses, languages, and styles, associated with different worlds and identities – towards heteroglossia.

In the classroom data presented in Chapter 7 of this thesis, we see ample evidence of this tension at work, between the authoritative discourses from the centre and their inevitable and continuous appropriation by local interlocutors in the classroom context as part of making sense, as part of the making of ‘internally persuasive discourses’ (1981:345-346). My analysis in chapter 7 focused on some of the ways in which heteroglossia was manifested in the discourse practices of Tess, the tutor, as she managed this tension, mediating authoritative discourses for the adult learners and articulating her own stance on them, aligning herself most of the time with those who were taking her class and with her professional colleagues in Further Education and Early Years, while at the same time having to teach to a central curriculum laid down by the government for the purposes mentioned above. Thus, the teacher was sometimes talking from ‘the Centre’, mindful of the dominant discourses of the institutional worlds of vocational and primary education, of the authoritative discourses of the National Curriculum, SEN Codes of Practice and legislation relating to children and the workplace and also of the managerial discourses that are, increasingly, colonising education.

At the same time, she was translating or mediating these discourses in ways that were meaningful to the class participants. In other words, she was not just reproducing the dominant discourses but recasting them in diverse and creative ways, in different social languages and with different communicative resources, indeed exercising agency in the way she introduced her own stance on these centralising ideas. In Bakhtin's terms, it could be argued that she was 'appropriating', the dominant discourses, as she voiced the words of others in her current context, and put her own slant on what she was saying. As she was 'ventriloquating', often drawing on the beliefs and values of her particular group of educational practitioners and using a Vygotskian student-centred, scaffolding approach to teaching and learning, she was also drawing from time to time on other ideas from her local life world or from other professional worlds she had previously been involved in. In this way, the dynamic and inevitable tensions between centralising and unifying and de-centralising and de-unifying elements were being played out within the utterances and sequences of classroom talk.

Here are three examples from the findings set out in chapter 7 of how Tess mediated discourses from the centre, appropriating them and adapting them for her adult vocational learners while managing the tensions they brought up. As I showed in this chapter, the three authoritative discourses that she could be seen to be mediating were: 1) discourses about standardisation of educational practices to raise standards, as documented in the National Curriculum (NC) for Literacy, Numeracy and the use of ICT; 2) managerial discourses, which have come to colonise vocational education and 3) legislation and related codes of practice as applied to the primary education sector.

- 1.) Firstly, in extract 9, taken from the session on 31 March, 2009, in which Tess was handling a feedback session from a group activity on the topic of teaching measurement, we saw how the tutor mediated the authoritative discourse about standardisation by interpreting it in ways that were meaningful to the class. She did this by recasting the rather abstract language of one of the Learning Outcomes (LOs) outlined in the NC for Numeracy, unpacking the ‘outcome’ the group were trying to take account of in their activity and translating it into more concrete terms and actions that the class could relate to. However, at the same time, she was navigating the tension between this ‘unpacking’ activity and the expectation that in her role as tutor she had to demonstrate ‘legitimate’ discourse to the trainee Teaching Assistants, showing them how to encourage the children to use the language of maths, (another requirement of the NC).

- 2.) Secondly, in excerpts 4 and 5, recorded on 27 January, 2009, we saw how Tess creatively appropriated a fragment of the dominant discourse of managerialism, the so-called ‘planning cycle’. This related to planning through target setting, for the purposes of business accountability. She mediated this idea for her addressees, and in doing so put her own slant on it. In order to make planning meaningful for her class, the tutor drew on her own lesson plan for that very class as an example, that is, she modelled doing planning for the students so that they could repeat this in their primary classes. In doing this, she was anticipating how the class might recognise planning as being relevant to them as students. She also related the example to their workplace, thus making it relevant and therefore internally persuasive as it anticipated their future

selves. However, again there was tension between centre and periphery as she was obliged to teach them how and why to plan for learning, using a model taken from the 'business' world which did not align with her local identity as a student-centred early years practitioner. To manage this tension, she presented her 'take' on planning by adapting the business model to suit a more reflective practitioner approach. Thus, she was putting her own slant on the business-inspired topic of managing planning for targets and accountability by foregrounding her own professional commitment to Vygotskian-influenced teaching and learning by referring to this planning as part of being a reflective practitioner rather than as part of a business model relating to a wider economic agenda. While she still had to cover planning for learning as part of the CACHE curriculum for TAs, i.e. she had to respond to the authoritative voices of the centre, she was using a locally recognised language of student-centred learning to facilitate understanding as well as show consistency with her own goals, beliefs and values.

- 3.) Thirdly and finally, we saw one example of the ways in which Tess appropriated the authoritative discourse of government legislation and policy relating to the primary education sector by putting her own slant on the topic of complying with legislation and policy for supporting Special Educational Needs (SEN). She did this by focusing on the more relevant day to day practice of complying with and negotiating legislation as a Teaching Assistant. She used the communicative literacy practice of talking around texts to do this, e.g. in extract 26, recorded on 13 October 2009. She first introduced the assignment brief in the CACHE booklet, in which they were required to discuss how they supported the SEN code of practice, outlined by the government.

She then encouraged them to draw on their experience of supporting SEN in their work placements and made reference to discussions around this that had occurred earlier in the year. In this way, she kept reference to ‘boring’ abstract legislation and policy on the topic of SEN to a minimum.

8.4 Concluding reflections

I presented my analysis of the classroom data and the findings of that analysis in two separate chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) so as to foreground these two dimensions of the discourse observed and recorded in this vocational education class: on the one hand, the fluid discursive movement in and out of different identities and the resultant interanimation of voices, both within and across utterances, and on the other hand, the ways in which the tutor managed the tension between the centripetal and centrifugal forces, constantly mediating authoritative discourses for the class participants in creative and diverse ways, making space for the natural occurrence of heteroglossia, and for the articulation and dialogising of a range of voices in her classroom, including those with which she identified professionally and those she shared with class participants in local lifeworlds.

These two dimensions of the interactions taking place in this classroom are of course closely imbricated. Bringing the insights from both chapters together here, I have endeavoured to show how Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism, and ideas related to this, especially from the work of Wortham (2001) and Tannen (2007) along with other key supporting notions from the literature, for example, Goffman (1959,1981), Baynham, (2011), research on “positioning” in

discursive psychology such as that of Davies and Harré (1990), work on “small stories” Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) combined with neo-Vygotskian ideas circulating within Further Education, enabled me to provide a deeper, more explanatory account of the nature the classroom talk in this vocational education classroom. I was able to reveal its “contradiction-ridden, tension- filled ” (Bakhtin, 1981:272) nature, and indeed, to show how this very tension might afford ‘ideological becoming’ (1981:282), through the interanimation of voices between and across utterances and through the creative appropriation of centripetal discourses, propelled forward in anticipation of the response of addressees as authoritative discourses become internally persuasive.

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will summarise some key findings which enabled me to provide some answers to my research questions. I will also comment on some other aspects of the research, namely, the constraints on the research undertaken, the nature and significance of the study, the implications for policy and practice in the area of Further Education and recommendations for future research in the area. In section 8.1, focusing on my first research question, I highlight some aspects of the content of the CACHE course for Teaching Assistants that I found salient. Then looking at my second research question, I outline some key resources that Tess, the tutor, drew on to mediate these salient topics and educational discourses underpinning the course and construct the 'knowledge about doing being a TA' with and for the adult learners in her class. Finally, turning to my third research question, I highlight some of the communicative resources she adopted to navigate the learning of the class participants.

In section 9.2, I indicate how I see the nature and significance of the study. In section 9.3, I consider some of the constraints on my study. I consider these in terms of space, time and in terms of the relationship between researched and researcher. In 9.4, I put forward one or two recommendations for policy and practice. Finally, in 9.5, I consider three directions for future research, taking account of what I have found salient in this study.

9.1.1 *Summary of key areas of analysis and findings*

Research Question One: What were the salient aspects of content of the CACHE Level 2 course in this study, in terms of topics and underpinning discourses?

The areas I considered to be salient in the CACHE curriculum, in terms of topics and underpinning educational discourses relating to being a Teaching Assistant, were: 1) planning in relation to accountability for learning, related to raising standards to compete in a global economy; 2) defining pedagogy and practice relating to the National Curriculum Strategy for Mathematics, English and ICT, with its underpinning discourse of raising standards and accreditation and 3) the legislation, school policy and procedures relating to Health and Safety and Special Educational Needs that TAs were required to know to do their job.

The reasons why I considered these topics and discourses to be salient and why they became the main focus of my analysis were as follows:

Firstly, the inclusion of planning and accountability in a course was indicative of both its instrumental purpose and the orientation of FE and education in general towards neo-liberal managerial practices and ideologies. What made the topic more salient was that the managerial imperative was embedded within the professional ideology of FE tutors such as the one in the study, as part of the way in which being a 'reflective practitioner' (Schon, 1983) had come to be defined. For Tess, it could be argued that 'pragmatic compliance' to new managerialism had been incorporated into her own sense of teacher professionalism and this in turn had led to her collusion in her own domination. However, I would argue that this does not take account of the complex ways that Tess navigated the discourses with and for her

students. I would say that she was strategic and creative in the way she oriented to the students and maintained her distance from the managerial discourses of the institution, taking what she needed or was obliged to take but only so far as was practicable, and in keeping with the beliefs and values of her declared community of practice.

Secondly, the topics related to the National Curriculum for English, Mathematics and ICT were included because of their underpinning discourse about 'skills'. As I indicated in Chapter 2, these discourses were linked to governmental concerns about preparing a future workforce for the globalised new economy and about securing a natural advantage within this economy.

Thirdly, the topics on legislation, policy and practice are central to all vocational training in Further Education but can of course be very restricted in focus. Learning and being assessed on legislation and policy restricts learning to the knowledge and skills required for just one occupation, and this might not allow for more flexible learning or opportunities for career change.

Research Question Two: Within the classroom, how did the tutor mediate this content and construct the TA knowledge with and for the class participants?

To support the adult learners in constructing and developing an understanding of their role as TAs, I found that Tess mediated the content for and with them in a way that reflected considerable strategic experience in dealing with frequent changes in government legislation and policy relating to education. By being 'pragmatically compliant' regarding those aspects

of the curriculum that required her to comply, one might say she adopted an ‘imposed identity’ (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:27). For example, she had to teach about accountability for learning and about legislation and policy (see chapter 7). However, in terms of FE and primary teaching pedagogy and in terms of her values and beliefs associated with student centred learning, she adopted an ‘assumed identity’ (ibid), that is, one that she was comfortable with and which aligned her with a community of practice of Early Years and Teaching Assistant tutors in FE. She said she “had the same approach and values as her colleagues” (interview with Tess, Appendix 3. 8). To help make the contents of the course meaningful for the adult learners in her class, she used funds of knowledge and experience as outlined below. At all stages Tess was orienting flexibly to her interlocutors in the class while constantly (and inevitably) drawing intertextually on circulating discourses and texts, which she appropriated and adapted and then presented in a new re-contextualised form for the learners in her class.

What funds of knowledge and experience did she draw on?

To make the content ‘meaningful’, she drew on the worlds of the students whenever she could. She also drew on her own experience as a primary teacher, a parent, an adult, an outsider to the city in which the course took place. As I showed in Chapter 7, she drew on these aspects of her own experience where she thought it might relate to the learners’ own experience or might be meaningful to the context of the activity. To make the content ‘relevant’ to the class as trainee TAs, she mainly elicited information and experiences from the students’ work placements, orienting most of the talk and tasks towards developing the learners’ knowledge and practices as TAs by getting them to revisit and reflect on the

experiences they were having in schools . She did this critically by demonstrating that the teacher behaviours they had observed in those classrooms were not always examples of good practice and that the TAs should remember that their primary focus should be on the pupils in their care, while always exercising diplomacy in their communication with their colleagues.

However, she also drew on the learners' experiences in their local life worlds and evoked possible shared identities and experiences such as that of 'doing being a parent' and 'doing being an adult in 2009'. She also encouraged the class to talk about negative emotions and anxieties attached to learning. For example, by alluding to her own experience as an anxious IT user, through a story, she invited others to join in. She also employed the story as a means to encourage the learners to overcome their own barriers to learning new things and in turn was modelling how they might get the children in school to overcome theirs. Thus, these educational conversations were multifunctional and multifaceted although having the appearance, at face value, of simply being unfocused talk.

What pedagogic practices did she engage in?

Because of the wide range of abilities and experience represented in her class, Tess needed to be flexible when orienting towards her students. Her pedagogy could be said to have the following dialogic features: 'Learning through talk' was the main strategy for teaching and learning. However, as I have shown in chapter 7, the talk was not everyday talk but rather what I call 'pedagogic conversation', involving practices which were both creative and educational: she frequently rephrased wordings, technical terms into informal everyday language and vice versa, she 'translated' colloquial into educational discourse. She used

question and answer sequences and encouraged the students to do so, as I have shown in Chapter 7: open questions, sometimes probing and Socratic questions, elicitation questions and she made space for student- led questions. She frequently engaged in humorous exchanges, collaborative storytelling and the exchange of personal anecdotes, though these generally related to the topic at hand. She engaged in literacy practices such as ‘talking around texts’ in various interpretive and creative ways. Finally, she modelled practice. This is a typical aspect of pedagogy in teaching training contexts, that is, literally showing trainees how something is done. Although modelling has been criticised (See chapter 4), I would argue that she modelled in a somewhat creative way, using her own practices in FE as a guide to what might count as good practice for TAs in primary school. Thus, she worked in a dialogic way, involving the adult learners through talk with them and drawing on their funds of knowledge, from both their educational experience and local life worlds, and collaborating with them in the building of TA knowledge.

Research Question Three: How did the tutor and the class participants negotiate classroom identities and relationships in this specific further education context?

As I showed in chapter 6, from the analysis of my interactional data, I found that Tess shifted between finely tuned identities. In doing so, as she interacted with the class participants, she indexed different relationships along a cline of power, social distance and solidarity, with the institutional identities of ‘tutor’ and ‘student’ relating to most power, least solidarity and most social distance and the local life world identities of ‘fellow parent’ or ‘fellow adult’ relating to less power, more solidarity and less social distance. Of course, the ‘choreography’ involved in these shifts in identities and relationships was always to some extent managed and

constrained by the need to comply with session structure, e.g. timing, topic, activity and Learning Objectives.

What identities did the tutor assume in whole class sessions and how did she position the class participants? How did they respond to this positioning and/or position themselves?

Tess, the tutor, adopted some identities that situated her as someone with authority within the institution of Further Education. Firstly she adopted an identity as ‘tutor’, positioning the class participants as ‘students’ and by doing so, she took on what Richards (2006) called a ‘default’ identity, in his research in the field of Conversation Analysis. However, this terminology does not really take into account the more subtle and FE specific identities that she assumed along the way, both within and across turns, as she dealt with particular topics and situations. These included ‘academic tutor’, ‘tutor-counsellor’ and ‘tutor-enabler’. Each of these subtle shifts in identity tended to position the class participants in different ways, e.g. as ‘regular’ or ‘weak’, or ‘fragile’ students. Within a post-structuralist conceptual framework, these might be called ‘assumed’ identities, as the class participants seemed to mainly accept their positioning. This could be seen in the linguistic and generic ‘mirroring’ that occurred. (See chapter 6). Where there was some negotiation of identity, it was generally couched in ‘polite’ terms, face threatening acts (FCAs) did not occur. Only one student stood out for her more challenging linguistic behaviour.

Another set of identities were situated within the world of primary education. These were ‘old timer’ and ‘fellow practitioner’. Class participants were positioned as ‘newcomer’, (either ‘anxious’ or ‘knowledgeable’) or ‘fellow educational practitioner’. These could also be said to

be ‘assumed’ identities, in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004)’s post –structuralist framework, as class participants seemed to feel rather comfortable with them. They involved slightly more equal relationships in terms of power. Finally, identities from local life worlds were ‘brought along’ (Baynham, 2013) and were drawn on as resources, to negotiate meaning and make sense of particular topics. These identities were fleeting and situated within the talk in very subtle ways that were at times hard to capture. Narrative analysis and a focus on narrative fragments was very useful for this purpose. Richards (2006) called these identities ‘transportable’ identities. ‘Discursive’ identities, in the MCA framework used by Richards, seems to be similar to what Baynham (2013) calls ‘speaker position’ but the term ‘speaker position’ seems to bring out the complexities of entitlement and rights more precisely. For example, Tess, as ‘tutor’, assumed the speaker position that carried the entitlement to hold the floor more than the class participants and had the right to change the topic, expand on the topic, etc. This entitlement was challenged by Amy, the class participant who contested the status quo of the classroom situation most markedly (See chapter 6 for discussion of tutor control).

What communicative practices did she engage in?

As mentioned above, Tess engaged in highly involving communicative practices. Particularly worth mentioning in relation the fluid and shifting performance of different identities is narrative. Exchange of narratives, short stories and fragments of tales about local life worlds occurred most often when identities were ‘brought along’. These communicative practices put Tess and her class on a more equal footing. However, even when the concern was with the primary school world, there were narratives relating to the class participants’ work

placements. There were opportunities through these work placement narratives of taking up more equal positions of 'knowledgeable new comer' or even 'fellow practitioner', as well as the more hierarchical positions of 'old timer' to 'anxious newcomer'.

To summarise, these communicative practices and positionings were fleeting and difficult to capture. However, they provided insights into the complexity of tutor-learner interactions which, when I first looked at the transcriptions, appeared to be highly hierarchical types of classroom event. Looking in detail at these communicative practices also gave me insights into the kind of power negotiations that were possible. The way that Tess used the communicative resources in her repertoire made it possible for the teaching and learning to be broadly dialogic in nature.

9.2 The nature, scope and significance of the study

As I indicated in Chapter 1, section 1.3, in embarking on this study, I was keen to contribute to the development of detailed linguistic and ethnographic research into the daily routines of classrooms in Further Education and, in particular, in vocational educational contexts in FE settings. I have done this by providing an in-depth analysis of interactional routines, meaning-making and identification processes in one vocational class. As I noted in Chapter 1, the approach I adopted was that of Linguistic Ethnography. While there have been a few recent studies in an FE context that fall within the emergent tradition of Linguistic Ethnography (e.g. Roberts and Sarangi, 2001; Roberts and Baynham, 2006; Ivanic et al, 2009; Martin-Jones et al. 2007), this is, I believe, the first study to combine ethnography with lines of analysis

recently developed in the field of Narrative Inquiry and with other more established frameworks detailed in Section 8.2.1 below. I also combined a linguistic ethnographic approach with social theory (as summarised in Section 8.2.3 below) with a view to providing a fuller explanation of the ways in which educational discourses shaped the interactional practices of the classroom chosen as the focus of this study.

9.2.1 *Linguistic Ethnography: An eclectic approach*

As I stated in Chapter 1, Linguistic Ethnography is eclectic in nature and allows researchers to combine ethnography with analytic resources from different disciplinary traditions, so as to throw more light on the particular set of communicative practices they are concerned with. In this study, I chose to combine Ethnography with Narrative Analysis, drawing in particular on the work of Wortham (2001). This approach was particularly valuable in Chapter 6. In addition, I drew on analytic resources from Hallidayan Linguistics, Classroom Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis. I drew on these different resources to investigate different aspects of the classroom interaction in this context of use - one that could not be fully described using just one method of analysis. I also think that, by investigating whole class interaction in this fuller sense, I have been able to show that, even in a highly hierarchically ordered event, there are opportunities for exercising agency and articulating different voices.

9.2.2 *Narrative-in-interaction analysis as part of classroom discourse analysis*

I have also been able to show how close linguistic analysis and narrative-in-interaction analysis can be used to trace highly complex and fleeting shifts in identity in routine talk in

vocational education classes such as the one in this study. In addition, I have been able to demonstrate how such analysis reveals insights into how relationships, though inevitably underpinned by dominant institutional imposed identities, can be relatively flexible and open in terms of power, and that they are negotiated in tandem with transportable, or ‘brought along’ identities as class participants and tutor build meaning collaboratively.

9.2.3 Drawing on social theory to merge the local with the wider context

The analysis presented in Chapter 7 of the study reveals in detail how Tess, the FE tutor, while having to draw on hegemonic discourses in ‘delivering’ the vocational curriculum, was, at the same time, mediating them in this local context for a particularly diverse audience of learners. She had to do this, while at the same time pursuing her own more empowerment-oriented agenda. In discussing these findings, I argue that this resulted in what Bakhtin (1981) called a ‘dynamic tension between the centre and the periphery’, which could be seen in the very fabric of the local classroom interaction through the linguistic and other semiotic resources employed by Tess, as tutor. Moreover, as I argue in chapter 6, the resulting heteroglossic nature of the classroom talk is further evidenced through the shifting between identities in what can be seen as ‘interanimation of voices’.

At the centre, the creators of these policies and initiatives are seeking to achieve homogeneity in vocational practice through standardisation and the reproduction of dominant discourses and values. In fact, I would argue that what tends to happen is that as the ideas get disseminated, as knowledge gets distributed and power gets more diffuse, other ideas, competing discourses, values and practices emerge in such a way that the original discourses

and values of the centre are appropriated at the periphery in multiple and uncertain ways, that depend on local beliefs, cultures and habitus, to use Bourdieu's term. The work of theorists such as Bakhtin provides compelling explanations for why things are the way they appear to be. They still serve as theoretical beacons in the late modern age.

9.3 Constraints and challenges

9.3.1 *The need to select an analytical focus*

Within the confines of the doctoral thesis genre, I found that there was insufficient space to include close analysis of the student-to-student interactions. Because I could not include this and because analysing whole class interactions seems to be a challenging way of discovering the dynamic tension between the centre and the periphery, I decided to restrict the analysis that I present here to the interactional data from whole class interactions.

9.3.2 *The challenging scope of the study*

Taking an interdisciplinary approach meant that the literature review was wide ranging and, at times, challenging. Moreover, the applied nature of the study, that is, investigating language-in-use in the context of Further Education and Vocational Education in the UK and the particular situated approach to language that I was taking, meant that the different policy contexts for the study also needed to be investigated, including developments in Vocational Education in England, in the CACHE curriculum and in FE policy. This took me to research literature in journals not encountered before and to a range of policy documents and research

commentary on policy. Due to the demands of contemporary work on linguistic ethnography, it has become increasingly challenging for lone researchers to cover the range of research.

9.3.3 *Reflexivity: The researcher/researched relationship*

9.3.3.1 *Sharing interpretations*

I would have liked to have taken back my findings to the participants but by the time I had completed the study, the adult learners had moved on. The one aspect of the data analysis that I did manage to share with them was the use of narrative. The resulting discussions I had with the participants were important as they shone a light on the difference between the emic and etic interpretations. The participants gave diverse reasons for the occurrence of narrative in the classroom talk but only one, apart from myself, thought that narrative had a role in learning. Amy claimed it had to do with her need to create scenarios in order to learn. Most thought they told stories to bond but thought that it was a distraction and something to be avoided. This seemed to be an interpretation that sprang from their own educational experience but both interpretations signalled some hegemonic influence.

9.3.3.2 *Different expectations of tutor and researcher*

This was not intended as an evaluative study. However, for Tess, as a reflective practitioner, my research seemed to be an opportunity to receive feedback on her teaching. As she told me at the start, she was ‘always looking for ways of improving’ (private communication during the data collection). This put me in an awkward position as I felt I needed to feedback this kind of information to her as a kind of recompense for her taking part. I have always done this

in a complimentary way and I have not developed any kind of critique that would put her in a negative light and do not plan to do so, though she said she wanted ways to improve.

9.4 Recommendations for policy and practice

As a researcher who is committed to social justice, my main recommendation is that we should seek ways to give the students more of a voice and more opportunities to engage in classroom dialogue. I think Tess actually does at least try to give her class opportunities to have a voice and was herself guided by social justice principles, seeing herself as an enabler of empowerment. (Private communication: evidence from classroom interaction and interviews). The interactional practices described and analysed in this research study are instances of what I would call ‘learning through talk’, a kind of ‘dialogic teaching’. I would therefore advocate something similar for any adult vocational class because of the possibilities it opens up for learner voices to be heard.

9.5 Recommendations for future research

9.5.1 *Literacy practices research*

One interesting piece of future research might be to consider the assignments of groups of adult learners such as these, possibly in conjunction with interactional data from tutorials. The aim would be to consider what kind of dialogue is fostered between tutors and students, within the wider context of academic writing research.

9.5.2 *Narrative-in-interaction and positioning research*

I would recommend more research on institutional exchanges, drawing on positioning theory and narrative-in-interaction, both in terms of what actually happens in different institutional interactions and in terms of what might be the implications for the people involved in the interactions. I would recommend such research because of the fruitfulness of such close analysis and especially the way that more fleeting and ephemeral aspects of interaction can be made visible. In keeping with Linguistic Ethnographic eclecticism, I would recommend that this is carried out in combination with critical ethnography, to capture the specificity of the socio-historical context.

9.6 Final personal comments

This journey has been a long and eventful one but it has been transformative for me. Its breadth has allowed me to explore widely and compare ideas. Its depth has allowed me to develop my linguistic analysis and has made me more aware of the power of language to influence and engage. Lastly, I have now become much more keenly aware of the ubiquitous presence of narrative and its part in the production of how we present ourselves to each other and our reasons for doing so.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDIX 1

Dedicated appendix for Chapter 7	295
--	-----

APPENDIX 2

The course, the tutor, the class participants: a thick description	325
--	-----

APPENDIX 3

Interview transcripts and miscellaneous documents

3.1	Interview: Amy (03-11-2009)
3.2	Interview: Raj 1 (28-04-2009)
	Interview: Raj 2 (04-09-2009)
3.3	Interview: Mandi 1 (10-03-2009)
	Interview: Mandi 2 (04-09-2009)
3.4	Interview: Toby (04-09-2009)
3.5	Interview: Trudy 1 (17-03-2009)
	Interview: Trudy 2 (04-09-2009)
3.6	Interview: Susan 1 (12-05-2009)
	Interview: Susan 2 (04-09-2009)
3.7	Interview: Ined 1 (27-02-2009)
	Interview: Ined 2 (04-09-2009)
3.8	Interview: Tess (tutor) 1 (12-05-2009)
	Interview: Tess (tutor) 2 (19-05-2009)
3.9	Miscellaneous documents
3.9.1	Consent form
3.9.2	Semi-structured interview topics
3.9.3	Abbreviations

APPENDIX 4

Additional extracts used in the thesis

4.1 Extract 27th January 2009

4.2 Extract 24th February 2009

4.3 Extract 13th October 2009

APPENDIX 5

Course documents

5.1 Sample from Tess' Scheme of Work

5.2.1 Assignment 1 – CACHE handbook

5.2.2 Assignment 2 – CACHE handbook

APPENDIX 1: DEDICATED APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 7

Appendix 1: Dedicated appendix for Chapter 7.

Long Transcripts for Chapter 7: Note that the line numbers are measured out in multiples of 5 and run from line 1, Appendix A, through to the last line of Appendix F

Transcript A: Classroom episode focusing on accountability through planning for the National Curriculum (27 January 2009)

Tess: Ok why else do we need to plan

CP: (Reading and writing?)

Tess: Yes, that's really important (.) as educationalists we are paid to achieve certain results (.) we are paid to meet the national curriculum .. the children should go out being able to read fluently write clearly um add up take away do calculations (.) in order to do that (.) we plan we plan in sequences (.) are you aware that things like maths build on ideas yeah it's like building a house (.) if the children don't have the foundation that bottom part which holds the house secure then they may acquire some maths concepts but they may acquire them in a very shaky way and then they get on to more complex maths and the whole house topples (.) maths is built on (.) layers (.) so is English (.) how many children would struggle to read and especially spell if they only relied on phonics (.) yeah(.) how many words in English stick to the rules of phonics 'cat' is great try spelling 'bough' in 'tree bough' using the rules of phonics(.) they'll get stuck so you need to teach them other parts as well so it's really important that when you're planning for children you're thinking about what do they already

know and in further education you call that prior learning ((writing on the board as she speaks)) so you do assessments which you are going to have today at 11 o'clock to find out what you already know and then (.) there will be (.) ongoing assessment(..) sometimes known as formative(..) assessment (.) formative assessment is that assessment that goes on day by day when you are trying to work out what the children .. I mean to be honest with you when you get them to do that ... it's a form of formative assessment because you're working out how confident do they feel about this particular piece of learning (.) you will then look at their books and their work and think right they've obviously got that they've got this when you're listening to them read you'll think right he's using his phonics he's looking in the pictures for clues he's not using his grammar to help him work out words so that's where we need to do our work because formative assessment is designed to help you fix the problems in what they already know sometimes there'll be gaps and that's why they're struggling later on in life (.) so what you have to do is make sure that you find out where the gaps are .. again this is for your information ... a lot of this you won't be doing a lot of this will be done by the teachers but you are likely to have a part to play in this (.) you will listen to children reading and you will note down for the teacher what they're struggling with what words were they struggling with you will work with the children while they are doing writing and you will note down that the child was only ever able to think of simple vocabulary and then in order to use more complex vocabulary they needed assistance they needed your support they weren't quite independent and again that will all fit into the planning as the teacher may then do some work on ... words in the class because she knows that they need some more practice on using a more extended vocabulary(.) may::be they always use the sentences which are like this that .. does .. stop that .. they are not using connectors they are not using "and' they are not using

'because' they are not using 'but' so maybe they'll do some work on connectors and all of that is based on planning(.) what else can you think of that we might need to plan why you might need to plan

CP: You need to evidence don't you your work .. I presume .. I wonder if planning ...

Tess: Keeping evidence .so evidence of how you taught it for OFSTED so you can be checked on but also evidence you'll work out what you can use as evidence of their learning to feed into the whole assessment process so when you're planning you'll be thinking about how will I know whether the children have achieved what I wanted them to achieve which goes back to our WILTS and our WALTS and things (.) learning objectives you set yourself goals you set yourself things you want to achieve and then you decide right I will know the child has achieved this if they can do this this and this (.) or (.) to put it another way ..I will know um if I've taught this well today if you can describe appropriately the TA's role in the planning process yeah and that's my objective I can measure it (.) you either will be able to do that in which case I've got a yes or you won't in which case I've got a no and you want your objective to be as specific as that um it's what we call SMART S-M-A-R-T ((writing on flipchart)) um I'm running out of room turn this around ((turning around the flipchart)) Learning objectives ((writing)) should be smart((writing)) they should be specific so they should tell you exactly what the child will be able to do (.) not sort of(.) exactly (.) you must be specific (.) the child will be able to write a sentence using letter spacing figure spacing and appropriate letter formation

CP: (??) That's part of the thinking in there and

Tess: Precisely so the objective would have been children will be able to write um a passage in their learning diaries using an opener and [connectives .

CP: [yep

Tess: and that's a yes or no isn't it or it might be a half because they might manage the connectors but they might not manage the opener or vice versa(.) is that measurable(.) in other words can you say yes that has been achieved or no it hasn't (.) some things are more easily measured than others aren't they .. em.. the child will go away to an appreciation of what it means to be stereotyped (.) how do you measure that(.) that's quite a tricky one to measure isn't it .. how about 'the child will be able to identify 4 different stereotypes used in the media' because how could you identify stereotype unless you've got some kind of concept of what a stereotype was .. yeah .. that is a more measurable objective so you need to think is it measurable(.) is it achievable (.) because we don't want to set targets for children that are not achievable(.) we don't want to set wishywashy ones that are way too easy either we want to stretch the children and we want to move them forward but we don't want to leave them feeling inadequate because the targets set aren't achievable (.) is it realistic (.) n um I guarantee that you will overplan sometimes and you will try and achieve more in a certain period of time than you would actually achieve as just human beings you know you'll do that sometimes bu::t try to be realistic and you'll get more realistic as you go on the longer you've been teaching the more you realise except occasionally you get bored and you try and push the envelope a little then you fall flat on your face and you think right I won't do it that way again (.) timebound (..) and by that I mean do I know when I need to measure this so for instance (.) I haven't made my objectives today timebound .. oh I have because I've said by the end of the session the student will be able to oh I have .. em .. by the end of the session the student will be able to describe the appropriate TA's role in the planning session so I know when I'm going to measure that but I could just have easily have written um within 3

weeks they will have produced a planning sheet outlining the plan using the methods discussed in the planning sessions for an activity with their children at school .. that would be specific it would be measurable but it would and it would be time bound but it would be at a slightly different time I wouldn't be looking at it just at the end of the session because I would know that you'd need a few weeks time to get all of that together but it might be a longer term goal I have for you and that leads me on to the timing of planning...in school how many of you have had em things like mid term planning sheets given out to you or er weekly planning (.) anything like that .. no .. not yet(.) as you um become more involved in school they may start giving you planning sheets (.) um schools plan for a variety of time schedules(.) you got um long term planning(..) mid term (.) and weekly (..) excuse the ditto marks but my pen's running out so I'm trying to .. so that's obviously all planning down there ((indicating how she has drawn it on the board))(.) long term planning would be something like..I had in my file here ((looking in file)) I'll just hold that up for you ((holding something up)) this is my scheme of work (.) runs to about 5 pages and it details 36 weeks' worth of work for you guys so week by week I have a general idea of what I plan to do and it is clearly related to the curriculum that's spelt out in your CACHE handbook . You're welcome to look at it but don't worry if you don't understand it yeah because that is the curriculum that is what I have to make sure I teach to you before the end of the year.

Obviously what do schools have to achieve .. what do schools link their plan to

CP: targets

Tess: targets and where are they getting their targets

CP: government

Tess: in the form of

CP: national curriculum

Tess: national curriculum absolutely the government was taking a long term look at what they wanted young children to achieve they then sent it off to Whitehall and then produced a document which is called the national curriculum and then the teachers have to teach with the view to achieving the targets and goals that have been outlined in the national curriculum so each term it is laid down for them what should be covered so they will have long term planning sheets which define what they need to teach during that period of time in order to hit the targets in the NC (..) then you get mid-term planning (.) any of you ever get those topic webs back from school your children will be learning this in the next term yeah (.) that is midterm planning (.) and it gets a little more specific if you looked at my scheme of work(.) I just put down general ideas I put down things like ball play and scenarios or group discussions um brain storm session but I don't go into specifics I don't go into major detail(..) on one of those sheets it will actually say oh religious education divali design and technology making divali lampsum art light and dark paintings yeah so you're getting into the nitty-gritty of what we're actually going to do in order to achieve what we're trying to achieve(.) 'cos it might say light and dark like in the science section for that term but you're now specifying what sort of activities you're going to do that will be involve light and dark to help the children be more engaged in the learning process(..) however (.) could you take a sheet that says making divali lamps and would you find it easy just to teach straight from that

CP: no ((very softly))

Tess: no and that's where weekly and daily planning comes in (.) so for instance um here we are ((waves lesson plan in the air)) my daily planning give us this day our daily plan this is my daily plan it i:s((reading from it)) my aims for what I want to achieve my objectives how

I'm going to measure at the end of the session whether or not you've achieved it (.) it includes little things like don't forget to take them down to the library at 11 o'clock for the online initial assessment because I might um (.) essential skills addressed by this session but they're not going to be called essential skills anymore they're going to be called functional skills but that's another thing for you to learn about at some stage(.) and then (do you see?) by time I've marked down what I want to achieve in this session and I've thought about how long have I got what am I going to teach how am I going to change the activities I'm about to change the activity now because you've heard me talk for a long time now and you're probably getting to the point when you are beginning to switch off a little bit so I'm going to change your activity quite shortly um and each of those things has been timed out so that I've got some idea of what I'm going to cover and when I'm going to cover it and making sure I don't get bogged down in one thing because it's very easy to over ((estimate))

CPs :((some commotion going on))

Tess: do you all have some idea about why we plan and how it's done in schools that's good

Transcript B: Episode on pedagogy in primary education supporting the National Curriculum for English (24th February, 2009)

Tess: [...]so when you're when you're starting off with a brand new learner a brand new person who's not read before what's one of the first steps you're going to take with them

CP: letter sounds

Tess: letter sounds what we call phonics ok so we start off usually with phonics it might be jolly phonics it might be 'read writing' or one of the other systems and you start with the initial sounds you start with a b c d f (.) why is it that children often retain the sounds better

CP: association?

Tess: yeah do you know what that's called (.) anyone come across the term multisensory learning(.) good that's fine I wasn't expecting any of you to have done but I wasn't going to teach it to you I'll teach it slightly differently when there's people who already knew about it (..) multisensory learning is (.) your brain(.) if it receives any information in a number of different sensory routes is more likely to retain the information so if you can take it in with the eyes the ears and if you speak it aloud at the same time as well and if you can touch it feel it you're more likely to retain a memory of that thing [...] so context is really really important and clearly you know if you come across a word you don't know if you can see it in context it helps you to get it (.) to give you an example of that if we can (?) open this out (.) let me give you a quick quiz (..) let me introduce you to a bit of scots it's a dreigh day today what do you think that word means(...)

CP: dry

Tess: dry..possibly

CP: rainy

Tess: rainy

CP: soggy

Tess: soggy

CP: dull

Tess: dull

Tess: how did you why did you all come up with weather words

CP: 'cos it's something to do with today

Tess: something to do with the day isn't it em (.) it could mean fantastic (.) or enjoyable

CP: the way you said it was

Tess: it was also how I said it wasn't it so something in the way I conveyed the information but I mean if I had just written it up on the board would you still have had a suspicion that it was a weather word (.) do you think

CP: possibly

CP: I don't know

Tess: in all honesty it's what we call an onomatopoeic word anybody come across onomatopoeia

CPs: ((mutterings not clear))

Tess: onomatopoeia (.) see you're learning loads today ((laughter)) words that sound like they mean

CP: yeah

Tess: most of you thought it was a dull sounding word didn't you a bit I was fascinated that you came out with dry I think that's because it begins with dr doesn't it

Raja: yeah

Tess: dreigh in Scotland is this sort of day (.) dull grey gloomy possibly a bit wet a bit yuk but you were all able to have a really good stab and come up with pretty accurate definitions for it without having any knowledge of scots because you had a knowledge of context you were reading using context do you now understand how powerful a tool that is for reading and what's interesting is you were all unconscious you used that without even thinking about it didn't you so there's a strategy for learning a strategy that can be taught to some children who found that difficult (.)

so that's context using context to help (..) um:: what other ways what about the little tin that you can take home what goes in the tin

Some CPs together: flashwords

Tess: flashwords flashwords um that is something called ((student whispers something inaudible)) well when I was doing my teacher training we called it block reading (.) nowadays they would probably refer to it as word recognition or sight reading (.) and what it is is(.) think about words like 'the' (.) you can't sound it out you can't go t-h-e(.) if you tried to do it th-e the that's not going to tell you how to say 'the' there's no clues in the word 'the' to help you recognise and pronounce that word so you're just going to have to learn to be able to look at the word and think that's 'the' so that's block reading ok er and it's as simple as that um having said that you can use some simple visual strategies to help children with their word recognition so for instance I have been known to do things like when I was teaching 'oo' I would write 'look' and then I would go ((draws something on the board)) yeah (.) it's a visual mnemonic 'cos a lot of children when they're trying to remember how to do the 'oo' sound I've watched them write 'look' draw the eyes in and then go back and it helps them

remember (.) children who can't remember which way round b and d go get them to try you can get them to do a bed where there's the pillow and there's the bedpost ((drawing on the board)) yeah bed and that will help some children to work out which way round the bs and the ds go and it's just they're kind of like visual mnemonics by mnemonic I mean a little strategy a poem or um a picture

CP: yeah

Tess: that when you go back to it it helps you remember a particular technique or a particular strategy (..) so there's another one for you to add to your list so we call it ((writing on the board)) visual mnemonics and put in brackets flashcards hopefully that will help you remember

Toby: one more

Tess: now the last of our searchlights is (..) um(..) grammatical knowledge ((writing on board)) what I mean by that is that we

Ined: I can't see that

Tess: oh alright I'll make it bigger((making it bigger on board)) better

Ined: yeah yeah that's

Tess: let me do the same with... doesn't seem to be any way to do them all at the same time ((long pause while the tutor tries to enlarge the font of all the writing)) there you are

Ined: thank you

Tess: so we've got phonics (.) context

CP: visual recognition

Tess: by grammatical knowledge I mean that when we did 'it's a dreigh day today' how did you know it was a describing word

CP: ((mutters))

Tess: sorry say that again

CP: it starts with 'it's a'

Tess: yeah 'it's a' (.) why do you know the next word is going to be a describing word 'it's a boy' so if I (.) .how (.) if I wrote 'it's a.... the next word could be a noun it could be 'it's a boy'

CP: you said 'day'

Tess: so there is already a noun the problem word was the word before the noun (.) now a noun for those of you who don't know is a naming word so it's a word that is the name of something (.) if you've got a word that comes just before a noun the chances are it's going to be an adjective or what children sometimes describe as a describing word um other things you might get with grammatical knowledge are simple spelling rules and things like that so for instance you might get um 'I like to swim' 'I like swimming' (.) this is conjugating verbs or making the verbs go from talking about what it is you're doing to the actual act of doing it yeah (.) you can also get things like um 'I like to run' 'I like running' ((writing on the board)) and so on and so forth that's just basic grammar (.) children can get to the point when they're reading that they will get to know and expect a certain form of word so they know it's going to be a verb or they know it's going to be an adjective they know how language works (.) that's what grammar is grammar is about how language works and you were able to guess 'dreigh' really really because you had some grammatical knowledge and also because you had some knowledge about context

Amy: so do they lead from one to the other on that or is that a learning curve or is that just something you know like infants would say 'I like to run' whereas juniors would say 'I like running' or is that=

Tess:=usually you'll ...about year 1 year 2 they start doing a little bit of that work simple work like that building on and very often it's in the context of er writing lessons or spelling lessons

CP: you see it with spelling you know you get the whole list of ings a list of bs (inaudible) ... gets more complicated

Tess: yeah absolutely and I mean then you get past tense then you get um different sorts of language so you get orders ...och my daughter's just been doing them and it's gone from my head... ordering language... uhh I've forgotten it when you when you tell somebody to do something you are using a particular kind of language

Researcher: imperative

Tess: imperative thank you

Transcript C: Episode on resources, teaching methods and language used in primary education to support National Curriculum Mathematics (31 March, 2009)

Tess: What I want you to do [now] is I want you to plan an activity using one of those resources. I want you to think about an activity that you could do, what year group you are planning this for, what kind of resources you're going to need, where are you going to do it, how are you going to minimize distractions for the children, if you're using something like meter stick how are you going to stop them doing Star Wars instead of measuring, if it's a meter reel, how are you going to make sure they swap because playing with a meter reel is so much fun it's actually difficult for them to take turns and .. you're also going to have to identify learning outcomes that will relate[...] ((students discuss in their groups))

Tess ((To whole class half way through the exercise)): Think about the language, remember language is really important in measure, what questions are you going to ask, how are you are going to ask the questions, how are you going to word the questions? [...] ((students discuss in their groups))

Tess: OK guys, I'm sorry but we have to leave time for some feedback before some people have to go. I'm going to pick (.) that group up there (.) if you could be first, so what have you identified as your activity? And your resource?

CP: This is going to be a fight to see who speaks.

Tess: Take it in turns to say something.

CP: Do you want the resources first?

Tess: Yeah.

CP: We had a group of 6 children; their resources were scales, carrots, teddy bears, cubes and pencils.

Tess: OK, yes that's good.

CP: The activity is that teachers showed the children the scales and explain how they balance different objects.

Tess: So what kind of things would they say when they are explaining?

CP: That different objects are heavier and lighter than others. And by showing them with their hands.

Tess: Yes, so they will be demonstrating while they are talking about it and they can use the language 'heavier than'. Would any of you have drawn your attention to anything if you were just doing this the very first time...drawn the children's attention to anything in particular?

Tess: So you put something on the scales and something happens, what would you draw the children's attention to?

CP: They can see how many things [there are] on this side to make it balance.

Tess: Yeah, and what would you say if they have never seen scales before?

CP: There are the scales (.) This is what we are going to be using. We are going to put this on here and you can tell that it is heavy, so we use these objects to see if we can balance it out and how many we have used.

Tess: Yes, absolutely. One thing just to... this is learning now... when you introduce the scales for the first time, make sure that you talk about the fact that when something is heavier on one side than on the other, the scales go down. Yeah, so use that language, and by all means do the visual at the same time. Ask them what they think if you put a teddy bear on this side, what do you think will happen. And some 'clever clogs' is bound to put their hand

up and say it will go down. Very occasionally you will get a class where nobody says that. So open questions remember, so try not to ask questions where there is only one answer, you know, try and ask questions that give them a chance to expand. So “what do you think will happen” is a more open question than saying how will I know if it’s heavy. So, we are using language, you’re using the balance, your drawing the children’s attention to it going down, what are you going to do next?

CP: Estimate. Measuring the weight and compare objects choosing and using suitable uniform, standard or non-standard units.

Tess: Absolutely, tell us what that means in reality, what would really happen with the children if you were doing that?

CP: We were asking them to put one object on one side of the scales like one teddy bear, and comparing it with a carrot to see which one was heavier and which one was lighter.

Tess: So what are the phrases you would use?

CP: This one goes up, this one goes down.

Tess: Exactly, what do you think will happen?

CP: Yeah, which side will go up or which side will go down.

Tess: Yeah, so you’re getting them to predict, part of the estimation with weight is by looking and trying to work out what they think is going to be heavier, try and find a big bumpy object that is actually really light and try and find a small object that is really heavy because that messes with their mind totally. It’s really good for them to understand the concept of weight because what they have got to understand is that weight is not related to size. Size doesn’t count; the only thing that counts is how much gravity pulls it. Really, really important that. Good exercise. How would you differentiate it?

CP: Didn't get that far.

Tess: That's ok, I mean you know, there was a lot to do. Say you had a child who had visual impairments, so has a problem with their eyes, what's the problem for that child? When you're doing balances with them? They might have problems seeing what's happening with the scales. You could actually use their hands and say which one moves your hand more, that's the heavier one. Is there anything you could do with them and the scales, to help them get the idea about weighing an object? There's nothing stopping you... or even putting their hands on the bridge of the scales, so they can actually feel what's happening to the balance of the scales. Because otherwise they are not going to get that concept. You need to think about how am I going to do this in a more thoughtful way for someone who is visually impaired.

OK, You two, tell us about your activity.

CP: We thought about getting children to bring a box in from home and open it and then copy it.

Tess: So you have talked about unpacking the box, what sort of language are you going to use to the children. How are you going to talk to the children to make sure they get the most learning potential out of that?

CP: We kind of aimed it towards year 3, it's looking at the learning and information puzzles and that sort of thing (inaudible)...

Tess: So it's quite an experimental approach isn't it, which is in fact hands-on learning, I mean the thing is you can talk to children about nets, nets are the shapes that you put together to make the box. You get children to make boxes they are learning more, you get children to unmake a box in order for it to be remade they will understand that a bit better, if they can

apply it directly to something. It's real, this is something that happens in real life and children will get that better.

Transcript D: Episode on legislation and policy: supporting SEN relating to primary education (5th May, 2009)

Tess: Ok, so today we are looking at children with special educational needs (.) for some of the things that you would do to support and enable children with special educational needs [...]

Tess: And what we will also do is I want you to be able to get some sort of idea about strategies we can use to help support children with SEN and I want you to be able to think how you can apply these strategies to your placement.

Tess: Ok so if we start with thoughts, what I want to think about right now is umm, the nature of particular special needs and also an idea of your prior learning, I want to know what you already know. So I'm going to sit back for a minute and let you tell me about special educational needs and see what the class knows already and then we will start filling in the gaps so anything you haven't heard about or understood we can then fill in the gaps on them. So we call these things particular needs. Any thoughts on an issue that might come up in class, what sort of things might these be?

CP: Dyslexia?

Tess: Dyslexia, that would be a really good example, ok what do you think would be the signs and symptoms of someone who might have dyslexia?

CP: Writing?

Tess: Writing, ok so what aspect, what might be difficult for a dyslexic person.

Tess: How they form their letters, writing the right way?

Tess: Umm yes you mean reversals, yeah.

Tess: I think reversing letters is definitely a good example of something they might do, anything else that a dyslexic might find difficult?

CP: Reading?

Tess: Some have varying levels of difficulties - reading. What might happen to them while they are trying to read?

CP: Get frustrated

Tess: Why do you think that is? What happens to a dyslexic when they are trying to read? ... The words/letters can become scrambled in the brain. If you imagine that you are trying to read and the letters are moving around in words, that's one of the things that dyslexics have described happening to them when they are trying to read, the letters can mix around or start going up and down like bobbling along on a wave, or letters blur before them and that can happen for some people certain variations of dyslexia, how do you think that makes them feel apart from being frustrated which we have already mentioned?

Tess: Anyone here had any problems with their eye sight?

CP: Yes.

Tess: How do you feel if you're short sighted and you have to look a long distance without glasses, it's all blurry isn't it, and if you have to look for a long time without your glasses what happens? You can get headaches, you can get tired, you can get grumpy. This is what can happen to someone with dyslexia if they have to read for long periods of time. For most people with dyslexia reading is very tiring and can make them feel quite grumpy.

T: I think that's not a bad place to start with dyslexia, so you have got quite a good knowledge of dyslexia in the class, did anyone want to add anything to that or are you quite happy with that as a definition.

CP: Ummm (have difficulty with information)

Tess: What particular information is difficult for a dyslexic to read?

CP: Like words umm or instructions. They can know how to spell a certain word one day but the next day it's completely gone

Tess: That's an interesting aspect of dyslexia and it's absolutely true, one day you can spell a word just like that, next day it's gone. It often has a link to their state, their physical state at the time so if they are tired or a little under the weather it can affect their ability to read. But not necessarily for some people, the analogy I heard someone give is it's like a TV set, when its tuned in you get crystal clear picture, absolutely lovely, but other days you get a bit of atmospheric interference and the picture goes fuzzy and everything becomes a lot more difficult and that's what it's like for a dyslexic in their brains, some days bang on, absolutely no problem but another day they lose it.

[discussion of EAL and ESL omitted]

Tess: Let's go back to our special educational needs, can you think of another need that might come up?

CP: Autism?

Tess: Autism is a good one. What are the signs and symptoms for autism then?

CP: Being withdrawn

Tess: What sort of characteristic would you link to this withdrawing, are they sulking, turning their back on everyone else? They could be perfectly content off playing by themselves doing their own thing because that is what they prefer to do, relationships are a little a bit confusing but they don't feel the loss bit now that is straight autism, so umm (inaudible)

Tess: A lovely example a student once gave me was a child they worked with, umm and she said "can you just jump in the car while I go and sort this out?" she jumped in the car and got in and jumped up and down in the back seat because that was what she had been told to do, she was a very obedient girl. But of course jump in the car was not really what had been meant but that was what was said. Now that's true of all autistics umm I say all autistics, I mean a significant number of autistics will find it quite difficult to understand that you are using a metaphor or a phrase of speech as it were. There is another reason

Tess: All autistic children can become very frustrated and confused by the world around them, everything should be black and white and when it isn't they don't like that, they don't understand what's going on, so if you teach them a rule, like the 12 hour clock then 2 weeks later you teach them the 24 hour clock they don't understand that. "You told it was like this, and now you're telling me it is like this" how can they, they should be the same shouldn't they? "You have changed the rules haven't you? It's like going to a football match and suddenly be told that the offside rule is not the offside rule and there is a completely different rule. That can be very frustrating for someone and that's how it feels for someone with autism, when you seem to be changing the rules on them and it's actually just a change in society.

Tess: With Aspergers one of the prime differences between Aspergers and Autism is that they do desire relationships, they will want affections for others.. they will seek out relationships what they don't understand is the social rules that go with it. So for instance, I worked with someone with Aspergers, (Syndrome) but they don't realize the reaction that they are causing another person, they aren't able to make that connection between how they feel and how someone else feels. For instance if they don't like spinach the whole world should not like

spinach, you just shouldn't and so you have to teach them some social rules so they can understand how to get on in society without offending people, they might never understand why they have to do it but they understand they will have to do it if they want to make friends. But (.) word of warning (.) I taught an Aspergers ... a lady a rule of thumb for meeting people ... because she was always getting into people's faces and I said "just see that space between you and me ... that's about the space you want when you're meeting someone especially if you don't know them very well. Maybe when you get to know them very well they might feel more comfortable to get closer, at least initially give them some space". Of course next time she went to meet someone what happened, ((lifting up her arm as if to measure a particular distance between speakers)) the look she got made her really confused because as far as she was concerned she was doing the right thing, she was just checking she had enough space between her and the person so then I had to explain I didn't explain my rule well enough, don't change the rule but I need to explain the rule better because it's my fault. Because I took the blame she was perfectly OK with that because that was just me not explaining the rule properly it wasn't a change of rule it was a rule not being explained properly and she was able to then understand that you've just got to sort of imagine.

Tess: Sometimes people tell you that autistic people cannot imagine things well that's not true because autistic children can actually write amazing stories and can be incredibly imaginative , so perhaps the better way to describe it is something we call "fear of mind" . And what I mean by that is that an autistic child may find it difficult to understand other people's feelings. Umm or even to understand that other people have feelings, a very severe autistic may assume that only they and people like them have feelings and everyone else in the world is just there.

Tess: You will find this with special educational needs there is a lot of cross over between one special educational need and another... anything anyone wants to add towards autism or are you quite happy with that as a general definition, so shall we go onto Downs then?

Tess: Now this will all be saved and available on Blackboard as well so I know a lot of you like to take notes as you go along and that's a good way to help you remember stuff but if you wanted to go back to any of it will be saved on Blackboard as well. So Down's syndrome, what might be the symptoms

Tess: How many of you know what's going on with Down's syndrome and what causes Down's syndrome.

CP: (Inaudible)

Tess: It's a genetic umm problem and they are born with certain disadvantages umm there may be issues with heart problems there might be issues with breathing there might be some issues with (inaudible) not necessarily though because it depends on the severity of their Down's, many who get downs mix up with other special educational needs as well so can be Down's and have dyslexia, that can happen, so just because they are one thing it doesn't mean they won't be something else as well. So it's a genetic condition... they certainly might have issues with social conventions and similar attitudes to toddlers with their relationships and can be demanding and I have seen Down's children... and in fact Down's adults carrying on having temper tantrums when they don't get their own way right up until they are in their 60's. Down's children are not necessarily going to die young but there is definitely a connection between Down's and early death because they often have complications which can occur like heart disease in particular.

Tess: Short term memory is another issue. So, there may be a problem from learning something one day and that learning moving from their short term memory to their long term memory because it didn't stay in their short term memory long enough to make the progress into the long term memory. For instance you did a phonics lesson with them on Monday, on Tuesday you say can you remember what sound is this and they say I have never heard this sound before and simply don't recognize it and that's because of the issue of short term to long term memory.

CP: (Inaudible)

Tess: If someone has special educational needs it doesn't mean that they are not clever.. you know some children with special educational needs will have you wowed. Down's children may well have learned how to manipulate people around them, just because they might not understand social conventions it doesn't mean they don't understand how to work people rather like toddlers, you know, how many toddlers are natural manipulators.

Tess: On the flip side that means you might get the most gorgeous cuddle, you might get the most "oooh I'm so pleased to see you" and it could be a very genuine response because they are pleased to see you and there's nothing to stop them saying exactly what they feel about you. The short term memory is required for you to be able to plan and look ahead so if you can't do that then it can be very difficult to stop yourself getting into problems and difficulties.

CP: (Inaudible)

Tess: And if you think about toddlers, how often do toddlers, have you seen that lovely advert where the dad is saying "come on, come on" and the child is encouraged to run straight into him, the poor old dad is lying there in agony. ((Laughter))

Tess: Now I'm going to talk about dyspraxia and dyslexia so we are not going to spend any more time on this, but I think we have covered the most common special educational needs and this will go on Blackboard shortly.

Transcript E: Episode on Health and Safety legislation (17th March, 2009)

Tess: We need to talk about laws, let's do that now.

((Tutor looks for information amongst her papers. Starts writing on board))

Tess: So Health and Safety Act, you take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of yourself and others. [...]

Tess: So it's not unreasonable to expect you to turn everything off, sort things out so that people will be safe. That's your responsibility, you must also report it. If you don't know who the relevant body is, what do you have to do?

CP: Ask someone?

Tess: They will need to ask, find out who they are and then go and do something about it.

Umm also 'the authorities' ((Typing on her computer, which is relayed onto the smartboard)) must then act. Where electrical equipment is concerned do you know what the requirements are in terms of electrical equipment?

CP: Pat testing.

Tess: Can never remember what it stands for

Researcher: particular appliance testing? Something like that?

Tess: Pat testing basically what it boils down to ((typing)), all electrical items held on the premises must be tested bi-yearly. That means, every two years. Having said that, a lot of places will do it on a yearly basis ((This part is not typed)).

CP: Yes where I work we do a monthly visual check on all appliances.

Tess: That's very good practice actually.

CP: A lot of companies are doing it.

Tess: Now umm another thing you must take into account when thinking about ICT in schools is data protection ((Typing up words) and it's the Data Protection Act of 1998 and there is also the Children's Act ... that's 1989 ((Typing up the titles of laws on the smartboard)). Under the Data Protection Act all data held on children should be kept secure ...and on adults. So any data kept on you must be under password, so no one else can access it. So there might be issues sometimes when you are working with children ...that sometimes you can't access certain information. Under the Children's Act, information that is held on children whether it's on the computer or any other recording thing, must be accurate, objectively recorded and must not...ummm... you must need it, so you shouldn't hold onto any information you don't actually need for the purposes of your organization because that would just be intrusive on somebody's privacy. And the only other thing to think about is copyright ((Typing up word)). There [are] some quite big copyright laws so if you are going to use some material in class you need to make sure you have the copyright to use it, a lot of schools will have copyright licenses and they will subscribe to various providers so you are probably very safe but there are some pieces of stuff that you may have hold of that you might not be entitled to use in a public place. You are generally a lot safer in a school, but obviously, if you are using music for instance, that could well come under copyright. That isn't covered by the school or film isn't covered by the school. You just need to take that into account.

((Student mobile goes off)).

Tess: Right .. umm.. we have talked about access, we have talked about responsibilities, umm spare batteries, making sure things are working umm how about storage, when you're storing ICT equipment ,what do you need to take into account?

CP: Breakage

Tess: So you need to leave fiddly bits that are easily broken out of the way. How many of you have computers on a trolley or do you just have static computers now. Most schools have got static computers because people did their backs in moving ICT equipment around, so I always say to people take into account when you are moving stuff around

CP: Bend ze knees!

Tess: Mind your back. Keep your back straight when you're lifting. Most things are very securely tied down now, partly to stop people coming in and nicking things. Right that's covered pretty much everything I wanted to cover this stuff ummm

Transcript F: Episode on legislation, code of practice and school policy assignment (13 October, 2009)

Tess: What I want you to do now is stay in your groups and this time what I'm going to get you to look at is the role of the Teaching Assistant ha ha (.) this can go direct into your assignments in making that Code of Practice happen (.) so you've got children in your school who for one reason or another have been identified as Special Educational Needs (.) we've got a whole list there of different special educational needs that might come up in school so what do you have to do as the teaching assistant (.) what are your responsibilities (.) what sort of examples can you think of of... things that you might be doing

Toby: P7

Tess: Precisely.

CP: ((laughing))

Tess: So I'm not exactly feeding you but giving you the opportunity to form all your ideas in class to write them up when you get home

Toby: I've got a question (Hard to hear. Something about P2 and P7)

Tess: We've done it week by week by week. Clearly these last two weeks we've been doing 2 and 7 at the same time because we've done P5 and P6. We covered one policy and separately on your log (Toby talks to Tess but I can't hear what they are saying due to the talk exchanged between other students. It is something about first aid)

Tess: This is more information about Special Education Needs.

((Class participants talk amongst themselves))

Tess: Basically for your homework (assignment) you've got to have one policy and one law so you don't HAVE to write this one up (.) It depends on what you've chosen for your policy (.)

and your law (.) Some people may choose to do the Education Act of 1986 as their law um other people may choose to do Health and Safety 1974 as their law um or they may choose something completely different

Trudy: You know... on the policy bit you like in the book there are examples of what.. you didn't have to use those

Tess: No no you can choose any policy you like as long as it's a school policy and as long as you describe what your job is as a teaching assistant to make sure that policy happens at school

Raj: So what we're doing today (.) it's still a policy is it

Tess: Yeah it can either be (.) so did you write that up as Health and Safety law last week yeah

Raj: Yeah

Tess: So today if you wanted to you can talk about your school's Special Educational Needs policy and how it's based on the Special Educational Needs Code of Practice and stuff like that and then what do you have to do as a teaching assistant to help (.) so for instance it might be:: preparing resources for children (yeah) adapting equipment for children

Raj: So that's what we have to write as the er code of practice

Tess: Yeah so basically this is just giving you the background so you can then write up ...it's also part of your overall learning for the curriculum of the course (.) these are things I need to cover with you guys um for the purposes of um our curriculum that we have to teach to.

APPENDIX 2: THE TEACHING ASSISTANT COURSE, THE COURSE TUTOR, THE LEARNING RESOURCES AND THE CLASS PARTICIPANTS: A THICK DESCRIPTION

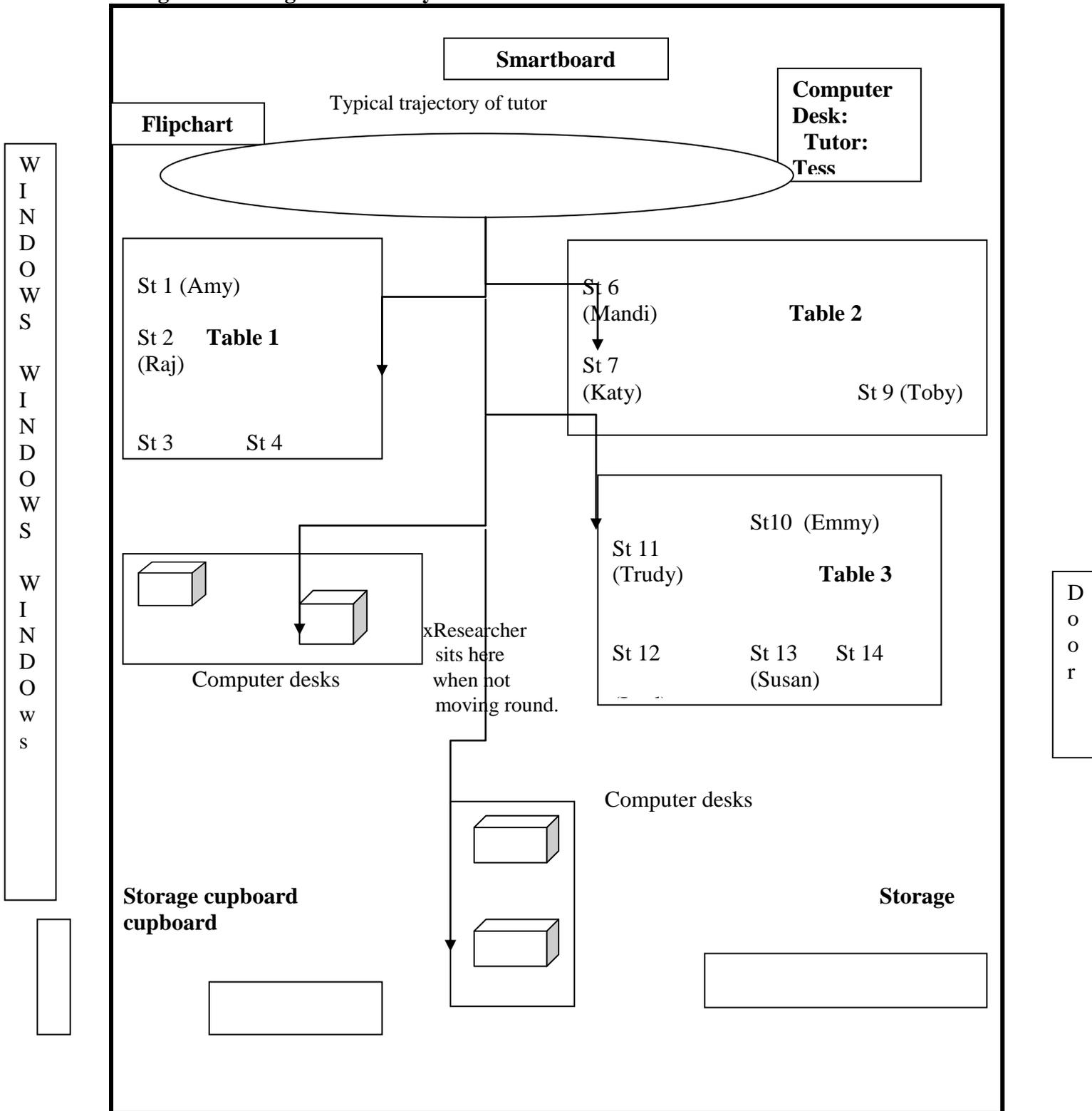
1. Introduction

In this account, I provide a picture of this classroom setting and the verbal interactions that took place within it by presenting the voices and perspectives of the research participants on particular topics. I draw on extracts from interviews with them, as well as my own voice, as participant observer, through field notes and my interpretations of events that I observed. This account sets the scene for the data analysis in chapters 6 and 7. It also provides data about the context from the perspective of Tess and the class. This data provided insights into the way both Tess and the class participants positioned themselves in the course of the talk and the different identities they assumed. The account draws on the following primary and secondary data sets: interviews with key class participants, interviews with Tess, the tutor, field notes from sessions, and the course timetable, the L2 handbook and National Curriculum reference document for the Cache TA course. The figure shown below shows the classroom layout.

The classroom was large and students sat at 3 tables towards the front of the room. At the back of the room, there were empty storage cabinets. There were also 5 computers. At the front of the room, there was a small computer desk for the tutor. There was also a smart board, a data projector and a flipchart stand with paper. All along one side of the room were windows, with closable blinds. At table one, on the left facing the tutor sat 5 students. On the

table on the right facing the tutor sat 3 students and at a larger table behind the one on the right sat 5 students. I made the decision to sit at the computer table behind the table on the left. In total, there were 13 class participants plus 1 tutor + 1 researcher. The students sat in the same place every session, unless reorganised for group work.

Diagram showing classroom layout



2. The course

This study was about how language was used in a vocational education classroom. As indicated in chapter 1, my main focus was on a CACHE Certificate for Teaching Assistant (TA) course, at Level 2, which was delivered at a Further Education College. This was the level considered as the minimal entry point to the workplace at the time, though the tutor claimed they were more likely to get employment with a Level 3 qualification (email correspondence prior to data collection). The programme consisted of two units: unit one, on supporting the curriculum and unit two, on working within the school. The programme involved a minimum of 120 hours of volunteer or paid work placement as a TA in a primary school. Two written assignments were based on the placement. The programme also included a three hour taught classroom session once a week in the Further Education College from January to December, amounting to 120 hours, where the curriculum content was addressed and discussed within a student-centred pedagogical framework. This type of taught course could be contrasted to a NVQ, which only involves work- placed assessment. However, this kind of provision was outside the remit of this thesis. Further to the taught sessions, there were two 1:1 tutorial sessions for each of the course participants.

The course was validated by the Council for Awards in Children's Care and Education (CACHE) and assignments were both internally and externally verified. To access this level 2 course, students did not have to have a proven high level of literacy and numeracy (GCSE: D grade, CACHE). As the students coming on to this course tended to be a mature returners, they had to have passed either the Level 1 CACHE TA introductory course (10 weeks) or have at least some other level 1 qualification or equivalent. The final decision as to whether

the students could both enter the course at Level 2 and progress to level 3 was made by the tutor. Entry to Level 3 depended on the student both passing the course and being able to cope with more independent study, in the opinion of the tutor. Progression from this course was onto either CACHE Level 3 Certificate for Teaching Assistants or the National Vocational Qualification for Supporting Teaching and Learning in Schools (CACHE, 2008:5). She therefore had an important gatekeeping role. The year after this research study took place CACHE was replaced by another awarding body, the Northern Council for Further Education (NCFE), which incorporated literacy and numeracy as part of the teaching and assessment, which CACHE did not. However, the NCFE is assessed through a portfolio rather than through essay type assignments, so it was more in keeping with the NVQ.

2.1 The Topics

The topics covered included School structure, Planning an activity, the National Literacy Strategy (Speaking and Listening, Reading/Phonics, Writing), the National Numeracy Strategy (Mental Maths, Measure, Calculations), the use of ICT (introduction and practical), Differentiation, Factors influencing learning and Learning Difficulties, Roles and Responsibilities of a TA, Working as a member of a multidisciplinary team, Building positive relationships, Promoting positive behaviour, Health and Safety, Code of Practice for Special Educational Needs (SEN) and Child Protection.. There was also an independent research topic on a subject of interest from the course for presentation. In addition, there was a requirement that students shadow someone in a different school. There was a First Aid session and one session on searching for a job called Job Search. The course ended with the announcement of

the results and celebration in the form of a party (Timetable Cache TA Level 2, 2009). The results were then celebrated with a party, which I managed to attend.

2.2 The Activities

The main teaching and learning activities in this classroom included whole class introductory discussions with tutor input, small group work activities and whole class feedback sessions. Sometimes there was more than one activity based around a resource such as a Teacher's TV programme. There were two sets of tutorials. The first set of tutorials took place on 28th April and in 12 May 2009 to discuss assignment one before final submission. The second set of tutorials took place in November 2009 to discuss assignment two before final submission. In these tutorials, participants could also discuss any other matters of relevance to their progress. In the following sections, I will illustrate a typical session, drawing on field notes made at the time. (Field notes, 27 January 2009: Planning for learning).

2.2.1 Whole class introductory discussion with tutor input

In the introductory discussion part of this event, Tess the tutor asked questions so as to build on the class participants' prior learning. Class participants volunteered answers from their work placements or at times from their life world experience and Tess filled in the gaps in their knowledge and experience with relevant information. Knowledge was built up collaboratively over turns. As part of the topic, 'Planning for Learning', the class covered organisation, meeting curriculum objectives, keeping evidence, identifying and meeting SMART Learning Objectives and why it was an advantage. They also discussed long, medium and short term planning. Finally, Tess checked understanding by asking and

answering the question: ‘Do you know why you plan?’ (See chapter 7.2.1 for an in- depth language analysis of some aspects of this initial introductory whole group discussion).

2.2.2 Small group work/pair work activities

Small group work activities generally drew on information and experience from work placements. Again the session on planning for learning is used here as an example. After the introductory discussion on why it was important to plan, the class participants were organised into groups of 4/5 with the instruction that they should make a planning checklist for an activity in a primary classroom. They were given the example of a bakery activity. They were even told how this would fit with the CACHE programme. In other sessions, on other topics, instead of a group work activity, the class was sometimes involved in another activity, such as watching a television programme, e.g. on dyslexia, (24 February 2009) or they took part in a hands-on workshop activity such as an ICT website discovery exercise (17th March 2009).

2.2.3 Whole class feedback sessions

These took the form of Question and Answer or discussion sessions, which were based on small group activities. The feedback session from the group work mentioned above, on 27 January, involved going round the groups asking for feedback on ‘things to think about when planning’. The different groups came up with the following: ‘what time is available, (e.g. time of day)’, ‘does the task relate to the National Curriculum, (e.g. resources and equipment)’, ‘Is the task appropriate to learner needs, such as EAL/others (e.g. clear explanations and instructions)’, ‘where-is it the right environment’, ‘group size’, ‘sufficient bodies to do an activity’ and ‘knowing when to quit’.

2.2.4 Conclusion to session: whole class

The whole class concluding session usually took the form of tutor input to round up a topic, a question and answer session and tutor responses to queries. On 27 January, 2009, in the final closing activity before break, Tess hand drew a planning cycle and talked around the concepts: plan, do, review. (See Chapter 7 for diagram). In relation to this, she also introduced the concept of a 'reflective diary' for recording reflections on practice. After break, the students were going for an initial assessment in the Learning Resource Centre so Tess reminded them of this. That was the end of the taught session. On other days, students might come and ask her questions at the end or voice concerns. Three class participants started work at 12.00 therefore had to leave early. So the main part of the session had to take place before they left but if they missed something, they could catch up through resources being put on the VLE, called Blackboard.

2.3 Learning resources: consulting, using and creating texts in print and on screen.

2.3.1 Consulting and using printed texts

There were various printed texts at the disposal of Tess, the course tutor and sometimes also, the students. There was the CACHE Teaching Assistant Level 2 course handbook for 2009, which included assignment briefs, marking criteria, guidelines for study and general information about CACHE and the TA Level 2 course. And, as indicated above, there was also a National Curriculum guide, provided for the students on the course. Apart from these two main documents, there were worksheets for group work activities, such as scenarios to discuss and planning sheets for activities and trips, also for Tess, her Scheme of Work and

lesson plan. There were occasional handouts on specific topics and there were also official text books such as the NVQ Handbook for Teaching Assistants Level 2 and 3 for reference, located in the College Learning Resource Centre. The students were encouraged to use these textbooks for their assignments, for example, to find suitable quotes, and to gain a broader knowledge of the curriculum, to read around the topics and to do research for their research presentations in June 2009.

2.3.2 Consulting and using electronic resources

There was a computer and a smart board for the tutor to write on directly, using a programme called 'notepad'. She could then record this information on Blackboard, the college virtual learning environment (VLE). The computer and smart board were also used for videos, based on Teachers TV, and for viewing relevant websites. Blackboard was also used for teacher - to-student communication, storing shared resources and circulating assignment briefs. There were also computers in the classroom for student use though these were only used once for an activity in an ICT session: 17 March 2009. On 27 January 2009, the computer was out of order so the tutor had to adapt by writing notes and drawing the planning cycle freehand (rather than electronically), using a flipchart with flipchart pens. As she had experience of teaching in a variety of settings, she was used to accommodating different and often awkward situations. She frequently made comments about this, for example, in the transcription for 17 March, Tess talks about 'the pen running out'.

Electronic resources such as programmes and websites were sometimes used for a stimulus to discussion, e.g. websites such as local council websites for job search purposes and websites for use in exercises in class (17th March 2009) and for support for primary children.

2.3.3 Creating texts

Apart from consulting texts, students created texts. Above, I have mentioned how students created planning checklists on 27th January 2009. On other days, they created other texts in their group work. The tutor created text as well, both on the flipchart and on the smart board to be saved on Blackboard. Some of these texts were created jointly between tutor and adult learners. Moreover, the texts that the tutor created on the smart board were actually a result of collaborative knowledge building. Apart from these jointly created texts, the individual students had to produce the two assignments mentioned above in section 2, which were assessed formally: one for unit one on supporting the National Curriculum Strategy for English, Maths and ICT and one for unit two on Legislation and School Policy. These assignments were written in essay form and students had to follow the guidelines on what to include, to obtain a pass, a merit or a distinction. Each criterion for P, M or D was numbered and sometimes referred to in the sessions, (e.g. assignment for unit 1: ‘supporting the curriculum’, CACHE Handbook, 2008/9:28). In this assignment, due in May, students were required to plan an activity for each area of the national curriculum mentioned above, execute the activity in their work placements and evaluate it. They then had to write up a report in ‘essay’ form on what they had done. In this report, they had to demonstrate knowledge of the National Curriculum Strategy for each particular area, by identifying the learning outcomes for each subject and say how they were met. They had to consider the type of setting and the age of the children. They had to identify any planning needs and list any resources and equipment needed. They also had to identify their own learning outcomes for each activity and say how they would feed back on the activity to the primary teacher. More generally, for

a pass, they had to ‘show an understanding of diversity and inclusive practice in your work’ (P10); for a merit, they had to explain how they would ‘support the pupils to stay on task and concentrate’ (M1), explain how you would adapt the activities for pupils with particular needs’ (M2) and ‘include references and a bibliography (M3). In order to gain a distinction for the assignment, they had to ‘consider the role of the Teaching Assistant in supporting teachers’ (D1). The session on planning on 27 January 2009 fed into this assignment. In assignment two, due around November, they had to write about the role of the TA work within the school, covering topics such as roles and responsibilities, working as a member of a multi-disciplinary team, promoting positive relationships with pupils, legal requirements and school policies implemented in the school and the role of the TA in implementing these. Again they were required to ‘show an understanding of diversity and inclusive practice in your work’ ((CACHE Handbook, 2008/9:33). These were identified as criteria to meet at P, M and D levels (ibid:32). As part of assignment two, they were required to write about 250 words on one ‘legal requirement’ and 250 words on one school policy relate them to their role as Teaching Assistant (P5 and P6). (The session where they were discussing this is analysed in chapter 8). To meet these criteria in the two assignments, students had to show evidence of the concrete and practical application to their work placement at pass level, the same in more detail for a Merit and show evidence of understanding of more abstract and theoretical topics at Distinction level. Classroom discussion and group tasks informed these assignments and queries could be brought up at any appropriate moment in the sessions in keeping with student centred pedagogy. Criteria were discussed at appropriate moments in the course. The two assignments were handed in to the tutor for feedback and returned to the adult learner for

improvement several times until they ended up being the best the learner could achieve by the cut - off date.

3 The Participants

The participants have been discussed in chapter 5: methodology. In this chapter, I have given them voice to enrich this linguistic ethnographic study by providing an emic focus. In the following sections, I provide an account of the ways in which Tess and the class participants presented themselves and spoke about their backgrounds in their interviews and informal conversations with me. I also provide an account of how they expressed their views on various topics relating to their respective roles as vocational tutor for this course (Tess) and trainee TAs in primary education (class participants), drawing on their experiences of both institutional and life worlds.

3.1 Tess

Tess, the vocational tutor for this class- mainly operated at the front of the class, sitting in front of the computer to type up on the smart board or find a resource on the website, standing in front of the flip chart to write up a brief note on an exercise or walking up and down, gesticulating as she explained or illustrated a point. When the students were doing group work, she went round the tables or worked at her desk on marking assignments. She frequently smiled and joked with the students and used her body to express herself, using her hands and making frequent eye contact to communicate with the students. She even acted out anecdotes for them, using exaggerated prosody and imitating other people's voices for effect. She wore casual (I would call 'comfortable') clothes, usually jeans, pretty blouses and casual

shoes. She had long hair which she often wore loose or in a ponytail. She wore very little make up.

3.1.1 *Her background:*

Tess was a woman in her 40s, with a husband and two children. She was brought up on the borders of Scotland and England, having come over from Canada as a small child. In her conversations with the students, she talked about how she had to change her accent to fit in at school in Scotland. She then had to change her accent again when she moved south as an adult to fit in with the mums in [name of city] at the school gate. She said she was from an educated family and had qualifications to degree level and in teaching. She had worked in primary schools and more recently with mature adults from a wide range of backgrounds, people of working class and ethnic minority backgrounds, in colleges and community settings, teaching literacy and teaching in the Early Years subject area. She was very interested in language and in her particular students and she was committed to adult education in general, as can be seen through her comments below.

3.1.2 *Key professional interests*

In an interview with me, previous to 2009, she had talked about her Christian faith, her fascination with language and her interest in working with students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and her experience with adults who had had difficulties at school. Tess pointed out that all the students ‘need lots of encouragement and lots of reassurance’. In support of this statement, she mentioned her friend’s Masters Dissertation, which was on self-esteem and adult education, ‘highly relevant to her students’, she said.

3.1.3 A concern with individual students

Tess also talked about the strengths as well as the needs of individual students. For example, referring to the only male learner in the class, Toby, she said: ‘well, I think, you know, he developed a bit of a school phobia I think, and I think that’s one of the reasons he didn’t attend school a lot when he was younger.....I wouldn’t be in the least surprised if Toby has something like dyslexia, that hasn’t been diagnosed’. He hasn’t been assessed because ‘he’s not ready for that yet’. Then she explained ‘he’s so scared of labels’. I think that Toby will do just fine because he’ll get [there], as long as he gets the right support.’ (Interview with Tess, 19-05-2009)

3.1.4 The potential of the CACHE course:

Tess saw the CACHE course as having transformative potential for many of the learners in her class. As she put it: ‘for a lot of my learners, whether English is another language or they are just disadvantaged for one reason or another, this course is what makes them actually think, “yes actually I can have a stab at this English because I’ve proven to myself I can do it”’. She mentioned Toby here too as an example: ‘well, someone like Toby wouldn’t have gone near Level 2 English, if he hadn’t done this course first’. (Interview with Tess, 19-05-2009)

She later added: ‘A lot of them go on to do it (L2 Maths and English) after, because it’s more threatening, it’s more like going back to school, if you go back to doing English and Maths whereas coming here, is different’. Referring specifically to Toby, she said: ‘It’s about

relevance. Toby was attracted by the practical aspects of being a teaching assistant and it's only that, that sustained Toby to keep at it, because I mean Toby struggled even on the 10 week (introductory) course but you see, Toby learns...He's (just) terribly nervous'. (Interview with Tess,19-05-2009)

She expressed concern about the new NCFE course that was about to be offered because she was not sure students from other language backgrounds would have so much opportunity to learn English through the course. 'The portfolio based assignments may actually benefit people from English as another language. The only thing is, will they learn as much English through it?' In support of this point, she then cited Raj, 'whose spoken English is excellent but because she's never really used English in a written form much, it's not that good'. At the same time, she commented on the skills of another class participant, Ined, indicating that she was not able to offer skills in terms of supporting listening and speaking 'because she's having to work on her own skills at the same time'. Tess noted, however, that Ined had other gifts and other abilities which would be seen in a positive light in a lot of schools. She put this point as follows: "well, although she cannot do this, this and this, she can do this, this and this so we'll still look at her". Her overall perception of this class participant was summed up as follows: 'She is very confident and will be a confident communicator, once she has had a chance to practice'. (Ibid)

Tess was disparaging about the alternative to her course, namely, the NVQ route via work based learning. In her words: 'what happened in the last couple of years is that I actually ended up with a lot of people who started the NVQ with the council and it was rubbish, and so

they came and joined my course because they said the NVQ was so awful... but I think it was partly the way it was delivered, because they wanted a taught course and of course NVQs aren't taught, they're only assessed'. (ibid)

To conclude, in the interactions between herself and the students, analysed in chapters 6 and 7, many of Tess' attitudes and opinions emerged through the talk

3.1.5 Tess' communicative abilities

Tess described her style of teaching to me as 'bog standard teaching' while the class participants mentioned it as being 'funny', 'engaging', 'not boring', in their interviews, without my instigation. Tess probably got these qualities through years of experience of teaching primary school but they also seemed to serve these adult learners well as they all loved her and could not say a thing against her. This was confirmed again and again during my fieldwork in interviews with class participants, in casual conversations and in answers to a student survey.

3.2 Key class participants in the study

There were 8 key class participants in this study, apart from the Tutor, Tess. They were (by table) Amy, Raj, Katy, Mandi, Toby, Trudy, Susan and Ined (See diagram of classroom layout above). I followed this order in my accounts of the participants below. I was able to carry out at least one interview with all 8 of these participants. With 6 of them, I carried out 2 as mentioned in the chapter on methodology. Katy did not appear in the interactions due to a lengthy illness preventing her from attending many of the sessions so I decided to withdraw

her from the list of key participants. One other participant whose name is mentioned in the interaction data in chapter 6 and 7 is Emmy, although I was not able to interview her so her voice is not included here. Apart from her, the remaining 4 class participants were involved in whole class interactions and in small group work though they were not interviewed. I have presented the voices of the key participants here, based on interviews I had with them, to help give the reader some insight into the perspectives of the class participants, and to bring an emic dimension into the study.

As I indicated in chapter 5, I carried out two interviews with each of the key participants. The first interview, held at the end of the first unit, focused on their social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and their work experience. They also gave their views on different aspects of the vocational course and the ways in which the learning was organised. Participants were also asked how this learning experience, as adults, compared with their learning experiences as children. The second interview, held near the end of the course, was a chance for them to tell me about their experience of the course and their future plans. It was also an opportunity for me to take back some of what I had found interesting in the data, for example, their use of narrative.

I have arranged the accounts of the class participants around the different interview questions in order to be able to compare and contrast across individuals while my account of the perspective of the tutor casts light on more general topics of relevance to the study.

3.2.1 Participants' backgrounds

Amy (36) came into the project for one interview near the end of the course. Tess had told me that she had had problems fitting in, so when she volunteered to take part, I was delighted as I felt what she said would support the kind of critical stance she had presented in the class.

She had had a problematic family background. She had moved around a lot as her dad, from the North East, had been in the army. She said she was now at 'her 28th Address'. She said she was a country girl and didn't like [name of city]. Her mother was from Somerset. She said: I went through the care system when I was younger' (Interview with Amy: 03-11-2009). She was bullied at school

'I was bullied the whole way through school and nothing was done about it ...Physically and mentally [...] and when I went to the teachers about it nothing was done (oh really) nothing was ever ever ever done (.) I can remember things like they were yesterday..things that people said to me and I spent the majority of my time in the library' '

The library was a haven:

'...and so I had a lot of trouble going on at home and the library was like (.) was almost like my bedroom because I could (.) just hide...'

Amy was married with 4 children. She had GCSEs and City and Guilds in Health and Community Care. 7 years ago, she returned to education to do an Access to Higher Education, first in Law and then in Teaching. However, she couldn't go on to do a degree in education as she wanted to due to lack of childcare. So she did the TA course instead to gain a vocational qualification in order to get a job. The credits from the Access course, she said, were not recognised by employers, nor do they recognise GCSEs 'from eons ago' (Ibid). She had worked as a 'Rewards teacher' in a school and decided she loved working with special needs kids as she felt more comfortable and could have fun with them (Ibid).

Raj: Raj was a 34 year old woman, who felt she was getting old and tired: ‘I am tired now’. She was of ‘Bengali’ cultural heritage, she said, and had been in the UK most of her life. (She came at the age of 6). She was brought up in London and had been in [name of city where study took place] for 5 years since her husband had opened a business there. She spoke English with a ‘London accent’, she said, evidence of her time spent there. Her extended family still lived in London and she missed them when she could not see them, especially since her parents were elderly. However, she knew a few people in [...] by then. She had children in school, one who had finished, one 14 year old and one or two younger ones. (She didn’t say exactly how many). Before getting married, she had worked in a superstore but had not worked since then, except as a volunteer in her children’s school. She did a secondary school work experience in a primary school and it had been her dream to go back to it. She said that, after GCSEs, she had wanted to go to college and do a course to work as a TA but her parents would not let her ‘at that time’. So she had worked for a year or two, got married and then never had a chance to do it.

She said Bengali was her ‘home language’ and that she spoke English and Bengali at home when growing up. Her mum did not speak English but her father did. She had been through the British education system herself and even done Bengali GCSE and now her children were going through it. However, she was still not confident in Bengali and was co-opting her son as a language ‘broker’⁹. She was making her son do Bengali GCSE as she could not read it herself and needed him to read it for her. ‘I want him to read it, he didn’t want to do it but I

⁹ Language brokers are children of immigrant families who translate and interpret for their parents and other individuals.

wanted him to do it so hopefully this year, he is doing it'. ((Small laugh)). 'At the end of the day, they are writing in Bengali, and they can read it. Because I can't read it. I have to ask somebody, "what does that say"'. (Interview with Raj, 28-4-2009) She didn't say why she could not read it despite doing GCSE.

Raj described her culture as Bengali but also Muslim, as she practiced Islam: Raj wore hijab and long skirts in keeping with her religious tradition. However, she was also involved in British cultural practices, as can be seen below. When asked to describe her Bengali culture, however, she mentioned only Islamic religious festivals such as Eid, Ramadan, praying 5 times a day, etc. In fact, she did not really understand my question when I tried to differentiate between Islamic and Bengali celebrations and interpreted them broadly as celebrations by saying they could celebrate 'as long as we don't follow it and do it consistently' but didn't mention any particularly Bengali cultural practices. 'We did used to go (to school Christmas parties, etc) but not like, follow it and make it a regular thing'.

Celebrations seemed to be conflated with the Christian and British customs of birthdays and Christmas parties when she explained: 'Like, we aren't supposed to do birthdays, but I do for my kids. And um, just to make them happy....and um I do...We used to do Christmas parties and schools and things like that'. (Ibid) .She said that she felt that one needed to fit in with the environment one is living in, by 'giving cards and things to friends or the teachers in school, even now, I get little presents like Christmas time, so the kids give it to their teachers. Just to say thank you and things like that.' 'Obviously you have to do that if you are living in a social environment, mixed with everybody' (Ibid)

For her children being both Muslim and at school in UK was hard for the children: ‘as they have to do school, then they do the Muslim thing at home, with the Qu’ran learning. It’s like for them, everyday is learning and learning. It doesn’t stop’. (Ibid) However, she told me that to be practising Islam, they needed to learn the Quran, to read it fluently and without mistakes so they had lessons at home after school twice a week to learn the writing system and how to link the words together, using two little books before they started on the Qu’ran itself. Once they had done the two books and learnt to read the Qu’ran itself, that is, they had completed the 3 stages, they could stop having lessons and were fully fledged Muslims. Then they needed to recite the Na-Ma Sa-La 5 times a day and once a week recite a paragraph of the Qu’ran. She told me that her children sometimes say ‘umm, I don’t want to do it today’. (Ibid)

Mandi: Mandi was a woman aged between 30-50. She referred to herself as being of ‘Bengali’ cultural heritage. She had been in the UK for 27 years. She had been through the British school system and done GCSEs in Bengali as well as in the usual subjects. She had learned to read and write in Bengali, due to the interest her family had in the language whereas her children did not see the point. ‘What’s the use mum because we hardly go to Bangladesh we hardly need to read this’(Interview with Mandi, 10-03-2009). Her husband had come to the UK after his degree and had a very different way of thinking as well as finding English hard. She felt ‘stretched between two sides’(Ibid). She tried to keep a balance between the two cultures. ‘I am like stretched between quite a few aspects.um even to have any housework done.anything outside the home, mostly I have to do the English side, um it does get quite a heavy thing’(Ibid). Mandi, as a devout Muslim, also read Arabic in order to

understand and recite the Koran. However, she said she could not write Arabic nor speak it really. Mandi wore the hijab and long skirts, according to the customs of her and her husband's family.

Apart from looking after her husband and 3 children, Mandi had worked as a volunteer from home and for the last year had been working as a dispenser at Lloyds chemist. Although she originally wanted to study pharmacy and become a chemist, she was not allowed to accept a place offered away from home. Opting to study pharmacology instead, at UCL in London, she had to give this up too in order to comply with her parents' wishes for her to have an arranged marriage. After marriage, there was no opportunity to study outside the home, but since 'coming out' (Ibid), she said she had done a few technical courses for chemist dispensers and would like to do more at a higher level. So on the subject of why she had chosen to do the TA course, she told me the place had finally come up after two years of being refused a place. After the TA level 2 course, she had 2 options: to study further technical courses for dispensers (which she had now been offered) or continue with TA level 3. Jobwise, she said she would prefer the pharmacy role although she knew of opportunities for work as a bilingual teaching assistant in schools. Also, she had a bad back from having to stand all day in the pharmacy and thought being a teaching assistant would not require this.

Mandi described herself as having 'come out from home' only a year ago, having stayed at home with the children since her marriage. She said she lacked confidence in the 'real world'. She thought that, as a result, that people found her very 'quiet' (Ibid). She said she would love to speak more loudly like other people. 'I need to raise my voice. Yes, I'd love to do that, I

look at people and I think, how do they do it' (Ibid). Mandi did say she got anxious about everything however and thought it was because she had been at home for so long. 'Once I feel comfortable with someone I'm quite ok to speak to them and ...but jumping into a conversation is not like me' [...] 'Even though I probably know so much I won't, I won't actually participate.' (e.g. in work or education). (Ibid).

Toby: Toby was a man of 43, 'born and bred' (Interview with Toby, 04-09-2009) in [name of city where study was held] in [area of city]. He talked about his mother dying when he was twelve, as a result of which his schooling hit 'rock bottom'. Having been asked to leave after the second year, he was sent to a special school which he described as being 'like the dark ages'. To quote an example of this, he said 'anything wrong and you're in the corner with like a pointed [hat] with dunce written on it' [...] 'if you were very naughty, you would stand on the bench and you weren't allowed to move for 4 hours, if you did you got a slap'.

He presented the special school system as bad in the 1970s but he also portrayed himself as follows:

Toby: I just remember getting the cane and things like that so [...] I was a naughty boy. It's how you grow up, it's how you enhance your situation that you're in, I try and fulfil the, the best of my ability in each section that I do'.

However, he also presented himself as a survivor, someone who had overcome his early bad experiences and had gone on to get qualified. This is how he put it:

Toby:... but I have overcome all that and, where I went to the special schools and never got no education for qualifications. And because at the special schools [we] didn't do qualifications, I have actually managed to go and get qualifications myself on my own back by going to college, university

R: Really

Toby: I went to university and passed Level 1 sign language

R: Oh really

Toby: Yeah, I done a business tech course for IT with [name] College

R: Yeah

Toby: back in 2002, passed that, so anything I put my head to I pass and I achieve because I have it upstairs, some would say I have it upstairs...'

He was focused on his goals and knew exactly how he was going to achieve them.

Toby: I'm trying to get a job now working with people with learning difficulties or you know, poor social background sort of thing so I can do like a one to one or a group session. So just mainly being a support worker to start off, cause I want to do level 3 sign language but I can't do level 3 unless I'm working within the area, that allows me to go on to level 3 .

Clearly, he already had work aspirations in the area of support work. The reasons he gave were based on his own experience, as follows:

Toby: I'm qualified with quite a lot of things that I do, at the moment I'm looking into being a support worker (in Australia)

R: Oh right in a company in Australia oh right

Toby: Yeah I just applied for one actually ...

R: Oh right

Toby: So I thought I would see if I get an interview

R: Supporting people with disabilities in their work?

Toby: Yeah, learning difficulties and things like that, I said to myself when I was at school (.) I would be in a class, there would be children of 30, I could read , I could write, I could spell, and there would be kids there that couldn't do none of that, so I would sit there and the teacher couldn't do them all and I would sit there with some of them and teach them how to read(.) I would teach them how to write and I found enjoyment in that which is why I thought I would like to carry on with that'.

He showed agency also in his strategic attitude towards getting work, as evidenced in the following exchange:

Toby: ...and I'm lucky because my friends, my two friends are police officers but they both said we don't mind sort of doing you references [...] having police officers as a reference, that's sort of you know [...] well I have you know one really good friend who is a vicar, well he's area dean and like he said like I'm next to god so you're (in good hands?) (.) another friend is a police officer and I have got friends who are screws, sorry prison officers in prisons.

R: Oh really, so you got everybody lined up

Toby: Yeah and I have got friends in the army so I'm the only one that now

R: Yeah but you are on the way though

Toby: I'm getting there yeah' .

At the time of the study, he worked as a 'dinner man' and had 7 years of voluntary and 5 years of paid Teaching Assistant experience. He told me his father had always worked 'with numbers', first as a draftsman for aerospace and after his mother died, as a bookie. He described himself as 'useless with numbers', he said (line...). However, he jokingly added 'my granddad was good at gardening and I never inherited that either' .

Trudy sat at the back table in the classroom with four other female students, including Ined and Susan. She was a woman from an English cultural and linguistic background, aged 41. She had spent much of her life moving around as her father had been in the armed services. She described the family pattern of mobility as follows: '14 times by the time I was 11....I don't want my kids to have to do that' (Interview with Trud, 17-03-2009). She also said: 'My mum remarried when I was 11'. Trudy lived in [an underprivileged area of city where study took place]. Regarding her parents' choice of neighbourhood, she said: 'My nan went mad when we were buying our house out there....we can't afford anywhere else' . Trudy had 'O' Levels and had completed a play group course before the TA course. In her past, she said she had worked on a nightshift in a factory, she had managed a clothes shop in the a shopping mall and was a full time mother to her four children at the time of the study. After completing the TA course, she indicated that she would like to progress to the Level 3. 'I love working in the schools' . .

Susan: Susan sat at the back table with Trudy and Ined amongst others. She said she was 49 years old and that she had been born and brought up in [the same city as the college where

this study took place]. Although she said she was monolingual in English, in fact it turned out she could ‘hold a conversation in German’, a skill developed by working in Germany for two years. She said she had gone there straight after ‘A’ levels, at 16. (She may have meant GCSEs or GCEs). On her return she had worked, married and had children.

About her education, she told me that she had stopped studying after ‘A’ levels. ‘Yeah, I did ‘A’ levels at school. Then at sixteen I went to travel, I went to Germany. And that’s it. That’s the extent of my education. A levels.[...] Um, I was just enjoying myself I suppose, and working. And when I came back I had no desire to carry on with education. I just worked and met my husband, settled down and that was it’. (Interview with Susan, 12/05/2009).

She told me she had mainly worked in the sports industry, both in Germany and back in the UK. Having spent 25 years around schools with her children, she had decided to change to working with children finally when she was volunteering in her youngest child’s class and thought ‘it all sort of slotted in. I saw the TAs working, and saw what they were doing - [...] quite a lot of them were my age. I thought what a lovely thing to do’.

Ined: Ined was a woman of Iraqi Arab heritage and spoke Arabic as her first language, ‘with an Iraqi accent’. (Interview with Ined, 27-02-2009).. She also spoke German, having lived in Austria before coming to the UK. Ined was of young middle age, (40-50), had blond hair, loose on her shoulders and wore western clothes with no hijab or other head covering. However, according to her friend Susan, they had to go to restaurants together where Halal meat was served. (Informal conversation with Susan, Ined’s best friend on the course). In

Ined's first interview, she told me that Susan, who sits next to her, did not know anyone either and that she was very quiet. They became good friends and started seeing each other socially as Susan lived near her, she told me. (Interview with Ined, 27-02-2009 and 04-09-2009)

Ined had chosen to have the interview at home rather than college as she said she wanted to invite me round for lunch. Throughout the conversation, she made jokes and we laughed a lot. In her dress, her manner, her actions, she appeared quite confident about herself. She said she was not scared to ask, would talk to people and go for language support if she needed it. She compared herself to others in the class who seemed shy and did not ask questions to the teacher or talk to others apart from their friends.

About her personal life, Ined told me she had separated from her husband and was bringing up two children on her own, living in a council flat in a 'good safe area of [name of city]'. She had a girl and a boy, both teenagers. She told me it was very difficult bringing up the children on her own, having to do everything. Her partner was studying, which seemed to be partly why they had separated. 'it make me crazy, I say stop, go away from me. But even me I like now studying, in this age'. 'Do you know how I am struggling?I have to do everything on my own and I'm really challeng[ing] myself. I am fighting with my life. I have to get something in my hand for my future'. However, later she told me how her partner supported her studies.

I asked her age because this was one area that might have impacted on the experience she had in class and the way she interpreted the experience. She wanted to give her age as 22 and I say

she didn't have to give her age at all but that her experience would be interpreted differently if she said she was 22. We settled together on 40-50, which she liked. I said 'I don't feel very young' and she said 'You feel like me, I don't feel as well'. We laughed about it.

Ined told me she had lived in Vienna for 7 years with her husband before coming to the UK and the children had liked their school there too. They had had to work very hard but her boy could not get in to the high level secondary school due to his level of German, even though his other subjects were good. They would not let him in. The classes were small in Austria so they did not need teaching assistants.

When I asked about her own educational qualifications and work experience, Ined said she was trained both in Iraq and in the UK, as a graphic designer. She had a degree in graphic design from Iraq and an Higher National Certificate (HNC) from UK in the same subject. She had 15 years' work experience in design but could not get a job in the UK. This was the reason for changing to being a teaching assistant. 'I wish to get a job as soon as possible and do the level 3 course'. 'I can't leave it because it is important to continue'. (Ibid) She appeared very determined to work and fend for her children.

Ined said she wanted to become a teaching assistant because she could have holidays with the children, etc. In a discussion about becoming an actual classroom teacher, however, she said 'yuck, I hate, even I don't want to work with children when I was young'. However, she seemed to have changed her opinion of this. 'For a woman, here, to look after children because half term she go free as well, holiday with the children'(Ibid). She liked teaching her

daughter too, she told me. For her, at the point she was at, it seemed, teaching might prove to be a good job, even though she ‘hates teaching’ (Ibid).

Ined had taken the literacy and numeracy and IT tests and had got Entry 3 for numeracy, Entry 2 for writing, Entry 3 for reading. It is not clear when she did these tests but the results were far below the level of the course.

3.2.2 Participants’ reflections on the course

During the interview, I also asked the key participants to talk about the course, including improvements they would like to suggest, on Tess’s instigation. I also asked them to consider how this adult classroom differed from that of the classroom when they were growing up and to the primary classroom in their work placement.

Amy, in her single interview on 03-11-2009, talked about the difficulties she had had in the FE classroom, with both Tess and her classmates, due to her outspoken personality and the dynamic of this type of class where everyone was different. She compared it to the ‘Access to Teaching and Law’ class she had been in where everyone was outspoken. In fact there was some veiled criticism in her words about some of her classmates chatting and then wanting to copy her work.

‘Um I find it hard sometimes to fit in and I had a few words with Tess because I’m outspoken [...] because I’m outspoken and the dynamic of everybody is different you know some sit back and listen some are outspoken you know and I found it really hard when I first came here.(.) when I was in college doing the teaching and the law we were all outspoken’[...] Yeah and we were all(.) because we were doing teaching because we were doing law we were all just those kind of personalities do you know what I mean and we just all blr:::: you know and whereas here(.)there’s lots of different personalities some people sit back and watch and that’s it and then others you know um are outspoken and then there are others that (.) kind of

tag along at the end you know they do their chattery bit and then they go 'so what have you written' you know and so (.) and they're chatting about what they did last night whatever whatever whatever and um Amy what have you written Ohh. Hold on a minute I've just written half a page and you've done absolutely bugger all and to me that ain't yeah carry on and to me that ain't gonna get them a qualification ... that's meaningful do you know what I mean cos I can copy everything that everybody's doing but I'm not going to have anything..yeah so we're all different and I find that very hard um' .

When I spoke to her near the end of the course, she had become resigned to this as can be seen in the following lines:

R: Has it got better over the year do you think

Amy: I don't know whether it's got better or whether I have just got better at ignoring it (..) Just not being so paranoid about that kind of thing and just saying oh bugger it whatever' .

Amy also talked about how she did her assignments using 'scenarios' which Tess was surprised by:

Amy: [...] I use lots of scenarios in my essays

R: Oh do you

Amy: To try and explain my point of view (.) the teaching assistant thing you were on about multidisciplinary teams and having(.) em..you know..the SENCO and the nurse and the TA and the teacher and the..all the people around (Mm) and so the only way I could describe it is to put a scenario in there and put a child in the middle that's having difficulties and work the way down the ladder

R: Mm [to see

Amy: [Yeah to actually put it in my mind and er Tess said oh she's never seen that in an essay before' .

She revealed something about herself here too:

'I've got a vivid imagination huge imagination and sometimes it's the only way I can em transfer to somebody else what I've actually got in my mind[...] I mean it's very abstract the abstract or boring stuff' [...] and also sometimes some of this..you've got to experience it before you understand I like doing the theory it's fine you can write reams and reams and reams but it don't mean anything at all to be honest until you actually you put (life) in there it just don't mean anything'

Amy talked about the TA course classroom as being different from her schooling, because it was adult education:

Amy: In this classroom ... Yeah (.) it's more more (I) think it's more personal(.) it's Tess and not Miss Taggart and and you can bring a cup of coffee into class and ok yes it's adult education so that's why it's different' .

She also mentioned the openness and relaxedness of the modern classroom in general:

'Yeah I mean if I got a question I'll chip up and ask it if it's the right time or whatever yeah absolutely it's a lot easier to you know I wouldn't feel that I was thick or anything if I had to ask a question you know in that respect um yeah classrooms are a lot more relaxed these days'.

Raj: Rajah's comments about the course showed that she was very satisfied with the course, her tutor and her classmates. She was nervous about putting down in writing what she wanted to say because, as she puts it: 'I haven't done anything like that for a long time.' (Interview with Raj, 28-04-2009)

However, she had done the Level 1, 10 week introductory course for teaching assistants first and had managed to build some confidence but she described her first impressions as follows: 'in the first week, I thought "oh no, it's like spellings and writing a sentence" and when I was doing it, it's like "oh, I can't, how do I write that, how do spell that?" then I said "no, I can write it, I can spell it" but it's just getting it together'. She also added: 'The first week of the 10 week course, that was quite rapid like... this one is nice and slow'. (Ibid)

She liked all the topics done in the sessions so far, but especially numeracy and literacy and had already tried out with her son what she had learned in numeracy about breaking down numbers. She had done one literacy assignment, which she thought went alright. She said she

had had to adapt it quite a lot as it was quite hard. 'It's ok. You learn don't you as you are changing it.' (Ibid)

When I asked about her class mates, it seemed important that they were friendly. 'I love my group (table). They are nice and funny'. She preferred working with the same group to moving from group to group. 'I am the sort of person that can't mix with somebody straight away'. She was worried about saying the wrong thing: ' You know it's like sometimes people say, you can't say what you want to say, it turns out to be something else'. She did feel she was getting to know the whole class 'that other group and that guy, who seems quite nice'. In the introductory course too 'it was all ladies and one guy, so it was alright. He was quite nice and friendly too' (Ibid).

When asked what improvements she could suggest, Raj was so positive about every aspect of the course, the teacher and the other students, that it was hard to draw her out about suggestions for improvement. Finally she told me about something:

Raj: 'Well, I have heard that one of the other ladies was saying that if she could get more leaflets out, stuff that we do...'

Researcher: 'Do you agree?'

Raj: 'I would quite like that, so I can learn'.

Then she elaborated on this:

Raj: 'Mostly she does speaking. If she does little things, we have to give out suggestions or she does. If we have like topics or whatever, then we can read through different people's or her suggestions and things like that'..... 'to take home, 'like how we read the books' (Ibid).

She was equally reluctant to say anything negative about the classes and students.

Mandi: Mandi had found many of the ideas and strategies in the course useful but perhaps rather late to help with her own children. For example, she talked about children with learning difficulties: ‘we expect certain standards from the children but maybe you don’t understand that this child has some sort of problem which is stopping him or her from achieving this level. So...yeh..this gives you things to think about’ (Interview with Mandi,10-03-2009). Her children were high achievers’, she said, and added: ‘I’ll be saying thank God... She described them as ‘very talen....what can I say...very demanding’. She said they did well in most school subjects, ‘specifically maths, both the boys, they are very strong in that subject’(.). Going on to describing their characters, she said: ‘they are both very hyper....my old[er] one, I’d say more, he would be more hyperactive and you have to have something there for him to do...because he’ll get up to the wrong stuff’. (Ibid)

I asked Mandi about the teaching methods and resources used in the course. She said:

‘we’ve got technological things available and more visualising things, you can see more than just talk about....it’s made more interesting, so people can have more concentration, [be] more focused and get into it a bit more than from when I was actually studying at college’(Ibid).

Mandi mentioned that there was no difficulty understanding the assignment. She knew that she would have to work on her writing with ‘loads of corrections’ and ‘that she (the tutor) would want me to change this or that’ (Ibid). The main problem was just starting ‘once I start I think oh!! but once it’s done ... I did actually pass with like distinctions’ (with the dispensing courses) (Ibid).

The researcher asked Mandi to compare her own school to this classroom:

R: How does this differ from when you were at school, this classroom?

Mandi: Oh, we didn't have access to all this modern technology that's one thing, we are dealing with more adults and you know we all have our own opinion, giving more opinion, the way we would like [...] the teaching is more, more... (inaudible) the teacher is more, she interacts more

R: Did you used to have things like group work and things like that?

Mandi: we did [but now] yeah modern technology, accessing information is more easier, getting hold of things..'

Comparing this course to others in the college, where for example, not so much discussion goes on as facilitation with notes, Mandi agrees that some 'just give you the notes' while Tess discusses with them 'ways to improve' She considers this is because of the variety of backgrounds of her students, 'I think we, some of us, came from very really backgrounds of education or [have been] away a long time [...] not being in education, so these people need to...'

R: So do you think that she's doing it deliberately, sort of fit with this kind of class

Mandi: Yeah

Toby said he loved the course and found his classmates easy to get on with (Interview with Toby, 04-09-2009). He especially liked the small group work:

Toby: As for the class ...I love group sessions where you can you can have a conversation'

He indicated that he felt that he would manage the assignment, even though he had a lot of other commitments. In his words:

Toby: ...I find it hard because have a lot on my plate at the moment, I have to deal with so much stuff, I have the assignment, I have to find a job, my wife is pregnant , so we got lots of things [...] trying to get the house sorted[...] so, and my daughter has just turned 10

R: Oh really, you've got a lot on your plate

Toby:...but yeah the assignment is ok, it's, like next week I can get the majority of it done [so] ready for when it is due in (.) I can because at the moment they are all written out, so next week I will be on the computer typing it away'

Trudy: Trudy was quite satisfied with the course and thought it had helped her a lot, particularly the phonics, even giving her ideas about helping her own children to read.

‘When Jamie started school, he knew all his alphabet back to front, the wrong way round. I got told off when we went to school because you shouldn’t have taught them the alphabet you should have taught them sounds. I didn’t know that.... So then I have always been a bit nervous reading with him’. (Interview with Trudy, 17-03-2009)

She liked the speaking and listening session ‘I’m terrible at it too.’ She again made reference to her own children: My little one will start talking to me and I will just start going on about something else’.

The topic Trudy liked least in the course so far was Health and Safety. For her, at work placement, Health and Safety was not an issue because ‘like it’s just so set up already’ and ‘I mean I don’t have to tell them about drinks in there, because they’re older, they know the rules’ (Ibid). In Tess’ classroom, she liked the small group sessions but she felt they went off track. The small group session about planning was her least favourite. In her words: ‘I do like planning but I like things very simple. It’s just made me think how much you do have to think about planning’ (Ibid).

Trudy talked about the differing ability and confidence with ICT among class participants (Ibid). She first mentioned one participant who had considerable facility with computing, and made the following observation: ‘she’s always on Facebook’. However, about two other students/participants, she said she was surprised that they lacked confidence in the ICT session. She could not understand why as ‘they got the same skills as me and can turn it on...they can find pages and ..they both say they’re not [confident] .One participant, Maria, was panicking about her ICT activity and Trudy commented on this as follows: ‘She lacks

confidence to talk about things or do things..she's all worried now because she's planned her ICT thing, to do C beebees package with reception and now because Tess said about digital cameras, she thinks hers is rubbish'. Trudy had suggested to Maria that she should not include digital cameras if she didn't feel comfortable with them. I asked why she felt fairly confident about ICT when the others didn't and she said 'well, because once I have turned it on, I am quite confident on it.....it's only a computer, isn't it'.

The learning resource she liked best was the 'Teachers TV' (Ibid). 'I like to watch the TV here because the programmes she chooses, I rarely find the time at home'

Trudy told me that she was ahead in her assignments. However, she said that had found it difficult to write her ideas down (Ibid). 'It's very hard writing what I do (although) I can think about things'. This was partly because she said she had to do the assignment about their placement before they studied the subject in the session at college. Also she did not do level 1, the introductory course, and in her playgroup course she had been allowed to use pictures. 'It's a long time since I was at school'. Another problem she had was with adding 'what would you do if' scenarios to include Equal Opportunities, after the event. She felt that she needed to think about the kind of person first, then plan, not add a 'what if' scenario later, e.g. what if you had a blind person in your class?' 'I would think about the person I was having before I did the planning, not the other way round.' But they did not study these scenarios until after the assignments were handed in.

When asked what suggestions she had for improving her learning experience, Trudy had quite a lot to say. Firstly, about content, she would have liked to have had the lesson plan before the class as this would help her to think ‘to get your brain thinking about what you need’. ‘I don’t like being in the dark’. Regarding teaching and learning methods and resources, she thought sitting at tables was annoying as she was facing the wrong way, wanted to look at the teacher but couldn’t see her or both her and her neighbour. Her neighbour, Emmy, came away with neck ache, she said. Regarding the assignments, she liked the idea of handing back and forth and looked forward to the feedback though she was worried the first time (Ibid). ‘It’s quite good when she writes on it like how, why, when. Then you think it’s so obvious but forget that the person who’s going to be reading it has no idea’. She would have liked clarification about whether she had to cover all special needs in her assignment or just one for a merit. Also, the lesson that trained them up for the more theoretical aspects of the assignment for the distinction was after the hand in date. ‘You look at the role of the teaching assistant and that’s after the date we have to hand it in, so I’m like’. Also she was also unsure how many references were needed ‘you got to have three but originally I thought it was three per activity’. The main problem with the placement was that they didn’t fill you in with information and she couldn’t be in her son’s class which made the logistics of where she could go complicated. She would have liked an induction when she started.

About speaking in class:

Trudy: By the time you have thought it through in your head, somebody else is already talking [...] but most people I know seem to say that I never stop talking, so...

She was sure this was an influence from her own school days:

‘We weren’t to talk when I was at school [...] you did not talk otherwise [a] blackboard rubber would hit you on the back of the head or the front of your head’

Susan liked the organisation of the course content. She said: 'It's very clear isn't it? It's very clearly set out'. She felt that the content was relevant to her work: 'It does link up with everything I am doing in the classroom'. However, she was mildly critical when she mentioned that sometimes the points being made seemed a bit obvious 'and , you know, some of the time you think , "well that's pretty obvious, why are we going over that?" But I think it needs to be covered'. Interestingly, she said she did not know any of the subject matter before she had done the course, though she was already in full time work as a TA. I asked her: 'Did you not know it all already?' She then answered as follows: 'No. I didn't know any of it. So it is very helpful'.

She said she couldn't fault the activities and the use of resources. In her view, there was a good balance between small group work and whole class activities 'It's good to have the whole class involved (.) it would be too much if it was just our table the entire time'. She mentioned the fact that the members of the groups liked to chat, and she thought this was ok. I asked: 'Do people sort of chip in their experience?' Her answer took the following form: 'Yeah, they do. I think as a table we all sort of chip in, chat about all sorts of things as well. You know, not just the work but we sort of go off on a tangent, and that's ok'. Finally, she was happy about the class size.

When asked about the assignments, she said she had time management problems because of her full time job and childcare responsibilities (which was why she felt she wouldn't be able to do the level 3 course next). 'Well the only problem I have with the assignments is finding

the time to do it' . However, she had loved doing the assignment activity itself, planning and running 3 National Curriculum activities, because it meant she was more involved in the class. 'The three activities that we had to do, I enjoyed them, because it meant I was involved in the classroom a bit more' . Her teacher had been very satisfied with her doing the course too:

S: 'It's made the teacher happy as well, that we are doing this all in here. It's more helpful for her. Yeah.

R: Oh right. She said that to you, did she?

S: She said that she would rather have someone like me who's going through this course than just having someone in the classroom helping that doesn't really know any of the background'

Interestingly, Susan had more to say at the second interview on 04-09-09, when we compared this adult vocational classroom to the classroom of her childhood and that of the primary school in the work placement.

Susan: It's just worlds apart, I mean when I was at school it was dreadful, absolutely dreadful [...] compared to how we are learning today

R: In what way (.) can you sort of pin point anything

Susan: Like here in this classroom, you know there's group discussions and you move around and you, and there's lots of different ideas and things. When I was at school we were just plonked in front of a desk and our class wasn't particularly good and most of the teachers just said open the next page, read from this page that, there wasn't lots of involvement, it was completely different

Her views seemed to be related to old fashioned vs. modern education rather than adult versus school education.

R: So it's something to do with modern and old fashioned then in a way (.) and do you think the relationship between the teacher and the student is very different then?

Susan: Yeah

R: in what way?

Susan: I think they are more approachable and friendly and you know, from when I was a kid it was, the teachers were, you couldn't chat to them, you couldn't sort of get close to them, really you can now, teachers are great fun now (.) in the school

R: In your school yeah

Susan: They are brilliant yes

R: And do you think that's better?

Susan: Yeah much better (.) much better, children feel more comfortable and they enjoy going to school

R: So it improves their learning do you think?

Susan: Oh yeah I think so, improves their learning, makes it more fun for them .

Ined: When I asked her about resources in her interview on 27-02-2009 and 04-09-2009, Ined said the teacher had given her names of books and websites and she had already got them out and taken notes from them. She laughed when she said she had found plenty of things ‘even for her assignment’. When I warned her about copy and pasting from the internet, she said ‘no, it is not nice’. But she felt that information from the internet would be very useful for getting ideas and also for talking to the teacher in her placement about learning activities. Her comment about this was: ‘she will think I am clever but I got this off the internet’. She laughed as she said this.

With regard to her assignments, at the time of the first interview, Ined had not been able to start on her assignment as it was based on her work experience. Others had already started or had been working as volunteers for a while so she felt that she was being left behind

In the second interview, we discussed the classroom, the nature of the pedagogy and the difference between this classroom and their classrooms as children growing up. Ined preferred the more traditional classroom in Iraq because they knew the subject when they moved up a year even though they were all terrified of the teachers and never spoke to them normally. Here and now, she noticed that they could move up without knowing anything, without even being able to read. They had had exams in Iraq and always worked individually, never in small groups.

Ined: there is big difference because ..the teacher, we scared from the teacher. Very scary [...] when I was young, if I see her she coming from in front of me I go to tell the others...

R: You didn't talk to the teacher?

Ined: No [...] hair up, no make- up, no eating in the class, we are very quiet[...] and when she asks any questions we have to answer the question and finish [...] it's different, and we don't have assignment, we have exams there[...] traditional, I prefer [...] I saw in the class they just jump to other year and they don't understand anything [...] because when they jump from reception to year one it's alright, no problem for them [...] but from year one to year two, some they can't read.

3.2.3 Participants' comments about the work placement

Amy, in her interview on 03-11-2009, provided many profound insights into how she viewed herself as TA, in relation to the work placement. She talked about humour being taken the wrong way in the mainstream whereas with special needs kids she could be more herself 'and stick out her tongue', etc.

'...because my personality doesn't fit in the classroom (.) with normal littl'ins average children my personality doesn't fit in (.) special needs I'm completely like I can go in and go like that to them ...[you] can stick your tongue out and everyone..but you can't do that in a mainstream school and um I don't like having to keep myself in check because it makes me very paranoid and so yeah I just found it really hard and I just like I don't want a job where I have to change I want [one] that fits me..as I am ...'

She said she preferred doing support (as a TA) than doing the planning etc. a teacher has to do:

Amy: [...] no I'm happy to sit back and let them do the planning and the work ((laughing)) I found that out when I was doing my teaching access you know when I was doing planning and all the rest of it I'm happy to let them do that thank you very much..I'm happy to walk in and get the paints out and....

Regarding the placement, **Raj** said this had been a worthwhile experience. She had been volunteering there for a year already; she knew the children and the teacher and they were 'nice and friendly'. (Interview with Raj, 28-04-2009 and 04-09-2009)

When **Mandi** was asked about her placement, on 10-03-09 and 04-09-09, she reported that numeracy and literacy activities were rushed through with little time, even for the TA, to go through things fully with each child to ensure all children understood. As a TA, she had been given 6 children and there was no time to deal with them individually as she had only been given a very short time to go through a task with them, e.g. writing a sentence about a picture. There was no time to go through spelling, for example, to segment the words with the children or talk to them in depth about what they were expected to do. She also made a critical observation about the amount of time they were given to do PE and play when they had so little time in the week for numeracy and literacy. ‘With my children I always spend time and sit with them in the evening for half an hour for each of them. And I don’t think it easy to talk to two of them at the same time’ (Interview with Mandi, 10-03-09 and 04-09-09). Although doing the placement was worthwhile, she remarked that: ‘it is not easy’. When Tess came over and joined in the conversation briefly, she told her the placement was ‘ok’.

Toby was totally confident in his work placement as he had 7 years as a volunteer and 5 years paid experience of doing Teaching Assistant work. (Interview with Toby, 04-09-09)

Toby...I have done so many hours it’s just what I need to do, just got it signed off. I got most of it signed off, just got to get some signed off, but yeah even if I’m not doing the course I will still go in and help out, listening to them read or...
‘I just love working with kids’

Toby had a good idea for quietening the children down, appreciated by the primary teacher he had been supporting:

Toby: While I’m in school and the kids you know like I will have the kids in front of me and they are making a lot of noise [...] I will put my hand up and all of a sudden silence[...] not

that I'm a tyrant or nothing but it's silence and then to occupy their minds I will teach them something in sign language [...] and they are there concentrating really hard, and I enjoy it and they enjoy it and the teacher comes in and goes, well you will have to come in more often Toby. [...] I have never known them to be this quiet' .

Trudy loved her placement, especially because she was 'managing to help someone'

(Interview with Trudy, 17-03-09 and 04-09-09). However, she said she would like to have more confidence in her work placement classroom. The teacher had asked her if she there was anything she wanted to be doing but she could not express what was in her head: 'sometimes I feel (..) it hard to say, see this is my thing, really, what's in my head, getting out of my head'. She also felt that she never knew what she was going to do and with whom until she went in. There was no time to plan with the teacher beforehand or at dinner because the teacher did detentions and Trudy had to go afterwards.

Susan told me in both her interviews (12-05-09 and 04-09-09) that she loved her job, which counted as her placement. 'It's a small school, it's very personal. A lot of the teachers have been [there] twelve, fifteen, twenty years. It's a nice school. So, I am enjoying school, there is nothing about my school I don't like really'. However, she did say, very diplomatically, that she would have liked to have had some induction when she started: 'The only negative thing I could think of, I suppose, I really have to wrack my brains, when I first started I wasn't given really any induction. Nothing was really explained to me. I was just thrown in straight in the deep end.' . In fact, she was quite eloquent about what they could have done to help her as she had found it frustrating not knowing anything, 'It was a little bit frustrating, because there were lots of things that I didn't know, I didn't know what was happening. I perhaps would have liked a tour around school, being introduced to a few more people [...] Perhaps have

something written down, your roles, they didn't have any of that. It was just... you start there Monday morning at nine o'clock, and there I was and I just got on with it. But the teacher is very good, so she helped me out day by day' .

There was an issue for **Ined** as she could not find the volunteer work placement she needed. She said: 'I need to get more experience for myself' (Interview with Ined, 27-02-09 and 04-09-09). She thought that the college could give her more help to find one. 'They leave it to me. Leave it to me'. She also expressed some ambivalence about the prospects of a work placement, saying: 'I am very interested, very interested now to go to school, and see what's going on, write down everything but...maybe when I'm going there I don't like it' ((laughs)).

3.2.4 Participants' comments about the course tutor

Amy didn't talk much about Tess apart from saying she had talked to Tess a lot about her problems, both with her classmates in this class and with her placement, as mentioned above. (Interview with Amy, 03-11-09).

Moreover, she did say Tess had told her to 'shut up' a few times:

Amy: she's told me to shut up a few times ... I chipped up with the answer before anyone else [...] So I have had a learning curve this year about like not saying... like kind of waiting a couple of seconds and sitting back and thinking because she told me to shut up

R: That's probably because you're confident

Amy: Yeah because I'm outspoken and because I'm gobby yeah'.

Raj: Raj liked the way explanations were made. She described Tess' approach as follows:

'[she] breaks it down, explains it, how to do it, how to break it down, make it easier'

(Interviews with Raj, 28-04-09 and 04-09-09). She also liked her style: 'She moves around quite a lot isn't it', ((small laugh)) 'emphasises [things]' ((laugh)). 'She makes it enjoyable'.

‘She’s not like... “you need to do that, you need to do that, this is that, this is that”. She is more relaxing’ Raj contrasted this learning experience to her own schooling where, as she put it, the teacher imposed topics and activities: ‘we had to do this and that, and you need to do it from the book. There’s not much explaining, you had books and just needed to do it’. In contrast, in Tess’ class, there was ‘more explaining how you can do it’ and ‘you can ask a question then she is really nice and friendly’

Mandi did not make many comments on the tutor during the interview, either on 10-03-09 or 04-09-09, possibly because the tutor came and asked if she could talk something during the interview. After she had gone, it was time to leave. However, she did touch on the tutor, when discussing other aspects of the course that she liked. For example, Mandi had a lot to say about the tutor and the learners sharing experiences and the learning that takes place, if it is relevant, as we can see in this exchange:

Mandi: Yeah she (the tutor) is really good; she brings her family experience and yeah

R: Yeah she does doesn’t she, and that’s fascinating

Mandi: As long as it’s relevant to the course we are doing, looking at children and if you have younger family you do tend to actually go through these day to day experiencing [...] that’s your child maybe if you’re working with other people’s children .

Mandi also liked the way Tess brought in examples from her own experience as she could relate a lot of what they talked about in class to her own life:

Mandi: Oh yes, I see lots of things when we talk that relate to me actually (.) I can see me there (.) or my children there

R: Like what, can you think of some examples? Can you remember anything?

Mandi: Like Tess talks about her son for example, and comes up with things and asking questions and he would like to be cheeky and things, I find yes children are challenging with my oldest he’s used to be very, very demanding and, very hard to put him into focus to something, some work or something, very hard to sit down and do, get on with something so, he is a very challenging one

R: And have you learnt things here you have taken away?

Mandi: Yeah I can see that's how, I have never actually thought about this sort of behaviour, how you can actually, and you have to look from the point of the children as well, why, how, yeah there's lots of things actually. Interesting because when I got [home] I (tell my husband) (.) oh I shouldn't have done, actually we should have done it that way .

Toby said in his one interview on 04-09-09, that he enjoyed this and other courses taught by

Tess : ‘

because I was on Tess's [course] last year, and I find Tess is a really good tutor or teacher, or whatever. I find she has time to explain things to you and is easy to talk to and easy to get on with’.

Trudy also liked having Tess as a tutor: ‘yeah I think she's good, she's just (.) seems to get everybody (.) engaged. I got loads of problems, a lot of my problem is concentrating so... ‘

(Interview with Trudy, 17-03-09 and 04-09-09). She favourably compared Tess and

contemporary teachers to teachers she encountered when she was at school:

Trudy: [Tess] is very different I would say[...] I suppose because she explains it quite well, 90% of the time we know exactly what we have got to do [...] all the time at school, I didn't know what I was supposed to do [...] but ummm, in class now [in the placement], there's a teacher, she will spend at least 10-15 minutes going over what to do, give you examples then everybody knows what they got to do. When I was at school, you're doing this, quick thing written on the board, get on with it, could be sat there over an hour not doing a lot, not talking or you know.

R: I don't know if all teachers are like that, maybe the good teachers.

Trudy: the new ones over where I go, they're like that [...] and if you're not sure you ask

In an exchange about Tess not putting students on the spot with direct address questions,

Trudy agreed, saying that in school when she was a child: ‘They picked on you’. Tess puts the question to the whole class, which Trudy thinks is because she understands how people feel about speaking up:

‘yeah, I think she understands that a lot of people don’t necessarily like speaking , do they?’ (line..)[...] she does try to encourage everybody, when she goes round the tables, I prefer to go first, then you got more ideas to say’.

Susan also confirmed that Tess was good at her job in her interviews on 12-05-09 and 04-09-09.. ‘Well, Tess’s a very good teacher’.

Ined really appreciated Tess’ approach to teaching. She said in my first interview with her (17-02-09): ‘I like her body language.I like her voice, the way she pretends everything...her voice, her hands, move the hands, use the computer to board. I like her method’. (Interview, date, line) She was also very impressed with Tess’ planning:

‘and she knows all the time what she is doing. She’s planning everything and she told us hundred times you have to plan’ (Ibid).

In fact she could not wait to come to class on Tuesdays and wanted to stay on longer.

‘I don’t feel the time is long’ ...’three hours but even I don’t want to go for a break, nobody ask about a break’.

In general, she was very enthusiastic about Tess’ handling of the course, as were most of the other students.

She also considered that Tess’ voice was very clear and easy to understand, as were her methods. Particular mention was made of writing the students’ contributions up on the smart board, from the computer. This impressed Ined as it helped her with her spelling of English, which she said was difficult, giving as examples, using ‘gh’ and ‘ph’ for ‘f’.

3.2.6 Reflections by participants with English as an additional language

Raj: Raj (interview on 04-09-09) talked about how attitudes and feelings had changed in schools over time, remembering her own school experience and comparing with that of her children.

‘Everything’s changed now. I remember when we used to go to school we had so many problems with other children you know. Because we were [from a] different culture, they would tease us and [start] doing things. Now wherever you go, you can like... talk to people. Like out of ten, you probably have one on the other side, but the others would be good or just show you whatever. My children don’t have that many problems. Now and then my daughter says ‘she’s not a friend with me, she doesn’t like me’ or things like that. Not like what we used to have. We used to be called names and things like that or what you’re wearing, how you’re walking, how your hair is...it’s too oily or whatever’... ‘cos I remember how my mum used to put oil on my hair and I used to wash it on a Friday night so I wouldn’t get picked on...but nowadays I put oil on my daughter’s hair and she’s not bothered about it.’

She talked about how they were not allowed to wear ‘the scarf’ because of health and safety [rules]. In her words:

‘They used to say you could strangle each other with the scarf or whatever. Now, you can wear the scarf in the majority of schools. In the nursery where I go, lots of children wear it. But we never used to wear it, even the clothes.’

Now she wore long skirts but before,

‘even when we used to go out, with friends or whatever, we used to wear trousers a lot, dresses a lot, just not these ones’. Now I always wear these’

((She pointed at her clothes, her long dark skirt and white scarf worn over her hair)).

She seemed very optimistic about the changes that had taken place since she was growing up.

‘Everything’s changed, everything’s developing...education and understanding...the teenagers, they do understand and they do respect, you know’.

Mandi demonstrated a great deal of concern for her fellow student Ined who was finding it hard to find a placement. In a conversation between myself (researcher/language support teacher), the tutor and Mandi, several of her opinions surfaced. One was that students might not want to impose on other students to help them find a placement. ‘You feel oh my God am I pressurising them too much’ (Interview with Mandi, 10-03-09). She also mentioned there possibly being a problem with writing as a bilingual person as ‘it does affect...it will probably show when you write’.

Ined mentioned a few difficulties she had as a speaker of English as an additional language. She had difficulty with assignments and was worried about writing in English. However, because she had done other courses in the college and had received language support, she expected this again: ‘Assignment yeh sure. I can write, I know my grammar is not very good but I will write everything and then you know that I am going to language support’ (Interview with Ined, 27-02-09)

I noticed that she was using both English and Arabic in class to write notes:

R:I see you’ve used Arabic as well

I: Yes

R: Do you find that useful?

I: Yeh, sure, sometimes when I can’t spell any word I write in Arabic and then.

However, she was not shy about talking to the other people in the class:

I: It’s alright yeh. I like friends, I like to contact anybody I don’t mind. Some they don’t because the other table they don’t come or mix or talk about what we do. I know my language is not enough but I’m talking, they understand or not...((laughs))

3.2.6 Participants' comments about the role of the TA

Amy (03-11-09) talked quite a lot about the difference between the way she was taught and nowadays in terms of disciplining children. She seemed ambivalent about this as while she did not agree with physical punishment, she did think that there was a healthy fear for the teacher when she was at school. This attitude can be seen in the following lines:

'I'm not the kind of person that would wanna go up and slap a pupil don't get me wrong but my kids don't respect their teachers the way I respected mine when I was at school[...]

Well I don't know yeah it wasn't a kind of stop they're gonna hit me in a minute but it was a respect you know if they boomed you went ..oooo'.

It seemed from what she said that she didn't quite approve of the informality in today's relationships between pupil and teacher:

Amy: They [her children] come home and they got all these stories..the teachers are a lot more open about their personal lives about their hobbies and I said to ... my eldest I didn't know anything about my teachers..it was amazing when we found out their first name

About the difference between being a teacher and being a teaching assistant, she made the following point:

'.. teaching assistant is so:: the whole spectrum isn't it yeah the mix you can get you don't do teaching assistant by the book do you (.) you got to teach by the book but the spectrum of the TA is like you know special needs all the way through to juniors and SEN you know [...] when you are a teacher you've got a set subject or you got a set whatever this is how you do it this is how you behave with the class this is how you do it ..the teaching assistant as we have proved in our essay this time is so diverse'

Raj: When I asked Raj (28-04-09 and 04-09-09) about the possibility of pursuing a career as a teaching assistant, she expressed some doubts about her chances: As mentioned above, although she speaks Bengali, she can't read it, so she is not sure she will be able to get a paid job supporting Bengali-speaking pupils: 'if they find out I can't read Bengali, then what...?'

She is not sure if she will be able to get a job immediately. She told me she would start looking for a job if she got a distinction but as she put it: that is probably pushing my luck'. She said it depends on 'what they need, what they want. They want more experience nowadays, don't they?'

Mandi (10-03-09 and 04-09-09) also talked about the need to take initiatives when you are a TA and the issues around this. She said: 'I don't mind taking my own way of doing things but at the same time I'm quite aware if the person in charge is happy with . the way you convey the things, the tasks. So I need to be sure that it's ok to use your own way or to do it in a specific way'. The view she was putting here was that people have very different ways of doing things so she wouldn't just risk doing her own thing without asking first. Drawing on her experience in the world of pharmacy, she commented as follows: 'Where I work for example in the dispensary, I very much look up to the pharmacist, you know how they want their things, instructed...and I do it their way'.

In her children's school, however, she was worried about large classes. In spite of the advanced technology, she noticed some children were not achieving as much as they could. ..possibly but it's maybe the size of the classes and things like that'. Interview, date, line...). She went on to describe how the teacher had 26-30 students to teach and so even if they fell over, 'she just doesn't have time to comfort them (.) you see her so frustrated...and I thought...I didn't really like that'. She argued that having teaching assistants definitely helped and [especially] 'maybe one to one' attention for students with particular needs.

Toby (04-09-09) did not talk explicitly about the role of the TA but, as mentioned above, talked about using sign language to quiet the children down.

Trudy (17-03-09) talked what she did in her role as a TA as part of her talk on other topics. For example, regarding Health and Safety, she says she does not have much to do. She had this to say: 'like it's just so set up already[...]our computer was all set up...the chairs are there, all I had to do was basically go in make sure all of them were turned on, I didn't have to log in or anything, the children, because I work with older ones, they all do it'

Trudy says she loves being a TA: 'it's really good, especially when you actually do manage to help someone'. However, she feels she lacks confidence to suggest ideas in her primary class, as she puts it: 'I suppose, I wish I had more confidence in class'. Even if the teacher offers her the opportunity to do something, she has ideas but can't express them. The teacher does not seem to tell her beforehand what she will be doing so she can't really suggest much, as she says: 'like, a lot of the stuff is already planned, she will tell me beforehand well next week... But I don't know exactly what I'm doing until she tells me, I suppose'. It seems she feels unable to take initiative because of the way the system is set up. The teachers she works with are too busy and she has family commitments so she can't see them outside class to share the planning, which would give her the confidence she lacks to volunteer ideas in class.

Susan did not mention the role of the TA in particular during either of her interviews (12-05-09 or 04-09-09).

Ined didn't have a work placement in her first interview on 27-02-09, so could not comment on the role of the TA. She did not comment particularly on the role of the TA in the second interview except to say that she would try to get a job as a TA + dinner lady in her school, as that is what they would be looking for, anything to get in the door.

3.2.7 Key participants: summary

Section 3.2 presented profiles of 7 key adult participants in the Level 2 CACHE course for trainee teaching assistants. My aim in presenting these profiles was twofold: first, to bring in the voices and perspectives of the research participants into my account of the day-to-day interactional life of this classroom; and secondly to reveal the diversity of backgrounds and experience represented in the class. The table below foregrounds some of the dimensions of diversity that I have discussed in some detail above, with reference to the face-to-face interviews carried out with the 7 participants. The Table summarises commonalities and differences that emerged across all 7 participants with respect to their educational experiences, prior work experiences, their work placements, their aspirations and attitudes and their family situations.

Profiles of key participants

Key participant	Linguistic repertoire	Age	Educational experience	Work experience	Work placement	Aspiration	Family situation
Amy	English	36	GCSEs; Access to HE: Teaching and Law	'Rewards Teacher' in Primary school. Had to resign due to illness	Volunteer TA	Work as TA. Can't afford L3.	Married with 4 children at different schools
Raj	Bengali/English/Arabic	34	UK education, Bengali complementary school. Level 1 TA course	Volunteer TA (12 months)	Volunteer TA	To go to Level 3, possibly need to do Level 3 to find work	Married with 4 children of different ages from primary to teenager.
Mandi	Bengali/English/Arabic	30-50	Uk education, Bengali complementary school. Began degree:pharmacology	Dispenser in pharmacy	Volunteer TA	Either go back to pharmacy or go to Level 3	Married with children of different ages.
Toby	English/Sign language	43	Special School then Further Education (Sign language; Business Tech course)	School 'dinner man', Volunteer TA (7 yrs). Paid employment as TA (5 yrs)	Full time paid work as TA	To do Level 3 sign language and be a support worker with sign language.	Married with on daughter of 12.
Trudy	English	41	'O' Levels & Playgroup course	Factory night shift work; Clothing store manager	Volunteer TA	To go to Level 3	Married with small children in primary.
Susan	English/German	49	'O' Levels	Work in sports industry; Full time work as TA	Full time paid work as TA	Wants to keep working. Too busy to study further at present	Married with 4 children, one of 5, the others young adults.
Ined	Arabic/German/English	40-50	Trained in Graphic Design in Iraq and UK	Graphic Designer (15 yrs. in Iraq)	Found placement half way through TA course	To get a job, or go to Level 3 if she can get on the course.	Single parent with two children.

4. Concluding remarks

The aim of this account was to provide a ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973; Holloway, 1997) of the classroom context in which my study was carried out. I began, in section 2, with the details of the topics and course content, adding to the descriptions first provided in chapter 2. In sub-section 2.2.1, I also described the specific ways in which the class activities were organised, following a recurring pattern. In section 2.3, the focus shifted to the type of learning resources that were consulted, used or created in the day-to-day cycles of life in the classroom. I pointed out that these resources included textual resources in print and on screen.

The third and longest section of the account was the one in which I presented the main research participants: first, in section 3.1, the course tutor (Tess) and then, in section 3.2, 7 adult participants in the class. As I indicated above, in section 3.2.7, my purpose was to reveal the diverse backgrounds of those involved in the class and those involved in the classroom conversations analysed in depth in Chapter 6 and 7. My purpose was also to bring the voices and perspectives of the class participants into my account. The transcript of the interviews can be found in Appendix 3.

This account is drawn mainly from interviews, with some information gleaned from informal communication, written up as field notes. The interview data is located in Appendix 3.

APPENDIX 3

Interview transcripts and miscellaneous documents.....	325
3.1 Interview: Amy (03-11-2009).....	392
3.2 Interview: Raj 1 (28-04-2009).....	392
Interview: Raj 2 (04-09-2009).....	392
3.3 Interview: Mandi 1 (10-03-2009).....	392
Interview: Mandi 2 (04-09-2009).....	392
3.4 Interview: Toby (04-09-2009).....	392
3.5 Interview: Trudy 1 (17-03-2009).....	392
Interview: Trudy 2 (04-09-2009).....	392
3.6 Interview: Susan 1 (12-05-2009).....	392
Interview: Susan 2 (04-09-2009).....	392
3.7 Interview: Ined 1 (27-02-2009).....	392
Interview: Ined 2 (04-09-2009).....	392
3.8 Interview: Tess (tutor) 1 (12-05-2009).....	392
Interview: Tess (tutor) 2 (19-05-2009).....	392
3.9 Miscellaneous documents	
3.9.1 Consent form.....	392
3.9.2 Semi-structured interview topics.....	393
3.9.3 Abbreviations.....	395

Appendix 3

3.1 Transcription of single interview with Amy, 03-11-2009.

Participants:

A = Amy

R = Researcher

R: Quickly, just to do some general stuff

A: Ok, yeah

R: Can you tell me your age?

A: 36

R: Oh right. Ok. Quite young. ((laughter))[...] Female gender. What is your background? Did you do GCSEs?

A: I did GCSEs. I did City and Guilds in Community Care at college.

R: Oh yeah.

A: Community Care. I think it's Health and Social Care [now]. So City and Guilds at college (.) then I had my children (.) and then I (.) 7 years ago I went back and did all my computer courses, clait, and all that stuff (oh yeah) and then I did an Access to Law course

R: Oh right

A: Got all my credits for that then decided I didn't have (.) and then I did my Access to Teaching course (.) so I've got stupid amounts of credits er (.) applied to UWE for a teaching degree

R: Mmm

A: Um and then I had a bit of a crisis at home, an emergency move and (.) there was no way I could get the child care for 4 children couldn't get the childcare um for the times I was meant to be in uni

R: Oh yeah

A: And so that went out the window and um here I am

R: Oh right that's a shame

A: So I did everything I needed to to get on to a degree

R: Oh, right. They are starting a degree on education at the college aren't they? A BA

A: Um. dunno. From what I've heard, I should look into that yeah but it was just childcare, I couldn't get the right childcare because I've got 4 children at three different schools so (hard to hear against noise of first aid session in the background)

R: Oh yeah. So in the future you might

A: Yeah

R: So you are doing your teaching assistant qualification? Are you already working as a teaching assistant? Or are you a volunteer teaching assistant?

A: I worked as a 'rewards teacher', giving rewards, I don't know what you want to call it (.) when the children were good they came to me and I played games with them and I was the good guy in the school, which was quite nice

R: Oh really

Appendix 3

3.2 Transcription of interview 1 with Raj, 28-04-2009.

Participants:

Rj = Raj

R = Researcher

R: Yeah ok, ok. So this is (.) this is just a chat really. This is just a trigger for the tape but it's just a chat about your background, what you think of the course, what you want to do with it, how you find all the different things, what you're happy with, what you find?

Rj: Yeah that's fine

R: Ok?

Rj: Yeah fine.

R: Ok. So if you just, just a few things first. So, I mean you've got to have some sort of British accent, have you been brought up (.)

Rj: Yeah.

R: Here, where? In [name of town] or (.)?

Rj: London

R: in London? Oh yeah, I thought, I thought I can detect (.)

Rj: Yeah

R: So all your life. Were you born here or (.)?

Rj: No I was 6 months when I came here.

R: Oh really.

Rj: Yeah.

R: So more or less?

Rj: Yeah more or less (small laugh).

R: Oh really, where about in London?

R: East London. Oh in East London, oh right, how long have you been in [name of city]?

Rj: 5 years now.

R: 5 years?

Rj: Yeah.

R: Oh, that's not that long.

Rj: It's not long, no.

R: So you were in London all the other, the rest (.)?

Rj: Yeah, my husband opened a family business here.

R: Oh, I see.

Rj: And from him going and coming backwards and forwards, like for once a week was quite hard.

R: Of course, yeah.

Rj: And to get everybody together we had to move here.

R: Oh I see, really?

Rj: Because we couldn't leave the business and go there.

R: No.

Rj: So, we came here.

424

R: And do you like it?

Rj: At first, I didn't. It was quite boring, no relatives, no family.

Appendix 3

3.3 Transcription of interview with Mandi, 10-03-2009.

Participants

M = Mandi

R = Researcher

R: The thing is this is all very interesting, Tess is very interested in people from different language groups as well because she has been teaching a lot of family literacy and ESOL and things like that.

M: Yes, I'm sure

R: Have you ever thought of teaching that kind of thing?

M: Well um,

R: Has that captured your imagination?

M: ((small laugh))

M: It did at one or two points when I had my discussion with my children's class teachers and things like that, and they thought I could actually do something as such quite well. But I didn't actually take the route or anything, at one point I did meet a person, she was from the council and she does bilingual,

R: Oh really?

M: and when they need her in a school she does bilingual for students and to actually interpret for the parents as well and she said I would be really, really interested in hearing from you, and she said they were quite flexible

R: Would they pay you? Or is it voluntary?

M: It's quite good, she said the pay was quite good but I never actually looked into that, no.

R: I mean with this course you could become a bilingual classroom assistant

M: Yes I think that could be-

R: ... and you would be qualified, you wouldn't have to do an interpreting course as well, I'm sure. But if there was a call for it, I mean it depends in [name of city] how many people there are that speak your first language.

M: I think um... people live in [area within city], most of the people, there is a big community of Bengali groups there, also I speak a bit of Hindi as well, which I don't write or read, but in Bengali I write fluently, read fluently so I have no problem with that..

R: So you'd be very useful wouldn't you?

M: ((laughs)) I never thought of that.

R: ((laughs)) well maybe, they have schools which teach people Hindi.

M: Yes in [area within city] I think they have quite large numbers of Bengali, Asian students.

R: Like in weekend schools, complimentary schools.

M: Um, there are weekend schools for Bengali children wanting to learn Bengali. There is in [name of city] Academia I think that is in [area within city]. They do a Sunday school where um... it is mainly for Muslim students to learn about their religion

R: Oh is it, ok

Appendix 3

3.4 Transcription of interview with Toby, 04-09-2009.

Participants:

To = Toby

CP = Class Participant

R = Researcher

R: I'm not very good at tape recorders, because they are scary if I caught it or not. Ok hello just start the interview

To: Hi

R: Hello, thank you very much for coming to have a conversation with me, this is just going to be a conversation really, it's not like a formal interview because I don't like formal interviews.

To: I don't like interviews either.

R: Don't you, and it's not, I'm not just going to leave you to do all the talking and just sit back and (.) because [that

To: [Like a conversation.

R: Yeah, like a conversation, ok.

To: Ok, yeah

R: I have just got a bit of background, because I'm aware that this is a class full of women, and you're the only man.

To: Yes.

R: Don't know if you have noticed this.

To: Yes.

R: You have. Sometimes we have more men and sometimes we have fewer men but it tends to attract more women, unfortunately.

To: Yeah.

R: You might say. Maybe in the future the balance will change if [they

To: [When I was in level 1 there were two men.

R: Oh were there, what happened to the other man then?

To: He's in level 3.

R: Oh is he?

To: He jumped from 1 to 3.

R: Oh did he? Oh right. So are you going to do level 3?

To: No.

Appendix 3

3.5 Transcription of interview with Trudy, 17-03-2009.

Participants:

Tr = Trudy

R = Researcher

R: It's just for use for research. Ok. How did you find the session today? Did you enjoy it?

Tr: I did yes

R: I missed the first of it. Do you know about this [ICT stuff]?

Tr: Yes.

R: Do you?

Tr: And I do a lot of those, I found some new ones

R: Oh right

Tr: The children love them

R: Do they

Tr: Yeah

R: Oh good

Tr: I have done the bite size. My little four year old (.) helps the class teacher

R: Oh really, he knows more than the teacher

Tr: He knows more than me, just the teacher hasn't got time to be teaching all the kids so some go on the computer and he shows them what to do.

R: What a great (opportunity) for him

Tr: Yeah, yeah

R: So was that easy for you?

Tr: Yeah that bit was, once I worked out how to turn this one on

R: I mean just the session topic

Tr: Yeah it was quite good

R: People have got such different needs, haven't they, in the class

Tr: A lot of them had to think about, like, health and safety, like [for me] it's just so set up already, you don't (.) maybe you should know even if you don't have to. Like our computers were all set up.

R: Oh I see

Tr: Nothing to do

R: Oh yeah that's true yeah

Appendix 3

3.6 Transcription of interview with Susan, 12-05-2009.

Participants:

S=Susan

R = Researcher

- R: Ok, so what we are going to do is talk about you, personal information, but not really personal. In terms of age, and stuff like that. You don't need to tell me if you don't want to. Talk about why you've become a teaching assistant, what you plan to do, maybe if you've got any ideas and then talk about the course. What you like, what you don't like, different aspects like that. The classroom activities, the content of the course, the topics and any recommendations or improvements. Ok? Some people have some very interesting recommendations ((small laugh)). Ok, so first of all, your first language is?
- S: English.
- R: English, ok. Do you have any other language?
- S: No.
- R: Ok. Monolingual. Ok, what sort of age you would put yourself in?
- S: 49.
- R: 49. Ok. Well I am 58 unfortunately. ((laughs)) So, everything sounds young to me. So you can think of yourself as sort of young... Ok. In terms of your sort of background, like family background, educational background, work background, anything like that. So what about your family background? Where you brought up in [name of city]?
- S: I was born in [name of city where study takes place]. Born and bred. I lived in [same city] until I was 16. Then I lived in Germany for two years.
- R: Oh really?
- S: Where I did learn German, but I wouldn't call myself bilingual.
- R: But you can speak a bit of German?
- S: I can speak German, yeah. I can hold a conversation in German.
- R: Oh alright, I see. You really are bilingual, and you actually speak [another language] Oh right, ok. So you have seen a different culture and lived in a different culture. Has that affected your British-ness? Do you feel a bit German or?
- S: No.
- R: Did you like living in Germany?
- S: I enjoyed it. I was young and I was having a good time. And it was a nice place to live actually. And it did teach me another language. But I was happy to come home.
- R: Really?
- S: Well I haven't been back since, so I can't be the judge of it now, but
- R: Really? Haven't been back since? No desire to go back?
- S: No. Well, when I came home I worked and married and settled down and had my children. So the opportunity to go back never arose.
- R: Oh right. So you married young then would you say?
- S: Yeah, too young. I was twenty-two when I married.

Appendix 3

3.7 Transcription of interview with Ined, 27-02-2009

Participants:

I = Ined

R = Researcher

R: You need to sign a consent form though; you need to read it actually.

I: A consent form...

R: It's in order to tape you; I need to have your agreement. Not from the government I promise ((laughs))

I: I'm just joking

R: Shall I tell you again [why I am doing this]... I'm at the University of Birmingham, doing a doctorate.

I: Doctorate, yeah, yeah.

R: In the language and education...area.

I: Ahuh ((agreement sounds))

R: The reason why I'm taping the interviews... I'm looking at further education from the point of view of people from different backgrounds

I: That's good

R: So I'm looking at the tu [tor...]

I: [I did [research] one time...with one lady as well when I arrived exactly and I'm talking about all my life

R: Oh did you

I: I moved from Iraq to Vienna to Britain and she wrote everything [down] and then she did a doctorate as well.

R: Oh where was that? In [name of city where study takes place]?

I: In [name of city again] yeah, she's African, she's very nice and umm...and she

R: What was her name? Did she finish?

I: Finish? Yeah. And I was there with my partner and her... umm.

R: Oh really?

I: What we say is...to put all of my picture and my...my text, because she...I wrote a report about myself, she put on a recorder and put on...

R: The tapes?

I: The tapes and the video.

R: Oh really, oh I see, video as well, yeah. So did you get it back after and see what she had done?

I: No. She finish[ed] her degree so...[...]

I: My partner [is studying] (.) it make me crazy I say 'stop, go away from me'. But even me (.) I like now studying, in this age.

R: It's wonderful though

I: Do you know how I am struggling? You see (.) I have to organize everything here...

R: Mmm (.) yes

I: I have to do everything on my own, and I'm really challeng[ing] myself. I am fighting

Appendix 3

3.8 Transcription of interview with Tess, 12-05-09 and 19-05-2009, merged.

Participants:

R = Researcher

T = Tess (tutor)

Topic: Context of FE

T: You interviewed me last year but I'm not sure we have even had an interview this year.

R: We haven't, no, so you might be willing to have another one about this course, but this is about the Context of FE and we have talked about it briefly and informally but just to formalize it a little bit, um so (.) there's three things I want to just cover, the context of FE, the course in terms of FE in general: in terms of early years education and training and in terms of the government, and education and society (.) and if we can think of anything to say about that (.) and under three categories like the history(.) If you know anything about the history (.) if you've got any information about, I don't know, the present, in relation to other courses in early years=

T: Yep =

R: Because there is a proliferation of courses, all of which can feed into this kind of early years practitioner, isn't there? And the future of funding and where it's going next? Shall we start with history, I mean I don't know anything about, I just supported CACHE courses and things (.) do you know anything about the history?

T: We:ll, I mean, one thing I tell you that might interest you is directly related to, not so much early years but teaching assistants in particular because there was quite an emphasis for a while on getting 'English as an additional language' students trained as teaching assistants so that they could be specific

R: When was that? Do you know?

T: Um, I think that was about 10 years ago=

R: Oh really, quite a while back, yes I remember vaguely.

T: = But that's drifted.

R: Oh really?

T: That is not the emphasis anymore. The emphasis has become on them being teaching assistants and urn (.) and my suspicion is that it's to do with costs, urn, you know, teaching assistant costs, and they need a teaching assistant to be all singing all dancing=

R: Yes.

T: =Which is why it's really important to work on the English skills of our students as much as any of the other skills.

R: Yes ok, so where does that leave the classroom assistants or teaching assistants with this specialism in EAL, from another language background.

APPENDIX 3.9: MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

Appendix 3.9.1: Consent form

Appendix 3.9.2: Semi-structured interview framework

Appendix 3.9.3: List of abbreviations

Appendix 3.9.1: Consent form

Consent form

As part of my doctorate in the area of Language and Education, I would like to observe and record classroom activities and conduct some interviews based on your experience of this course.

This should not in any way affect the teaching and learning and I shall not be assessing anyone's performance or ability.

I would like to assure you that:

- I will be recording normal classroom activities and interviewing a small number of participants.
- The recording will only be used and disseminated as data for this research project.
- All names will be changed unless otherwise requested and records will be kept confidential at all stages of the research.
- You can edit out what you do not want included and withdraw from any recording that you do not want to be part of.

If you are happy to participate, please sign below.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 3.9.2: Framework for semi-structured interviews with class participants on CACHE Certificate for Teaching Assistants

Early course interview (Unit 1):

Q. How would you describe yourself?

Approximate age:

First language:

Gender:

Q. How would you describe your background?

- a) **Socio-cultural:**
- b) **Education**
- c) **Work**

Q. What made you decide to take this Teaching Assistant course?

Q. What do you hope to do when you finish this course?

Q. What have you liked most about the following and why:

- a) **Content of course?**
- b) **Teaching and Learning methods and resources?**
- c) **Assignments?**
- d) **Work placement?**

Q. What have you liked least or found difficult about the following and why?

- a) **Content?**
- b) **Teaching and Learning methods and resources?**
- c) **Assignments?**
- d) **Work placement?**

Q. What suggestions do you have at this stage to improve your learning experience in terms of the following?

- a) Content?
 - b) Teaching and Learning methods and resources?
 - c) Assignments?
 - d) Work placement?
-

Late course interview:

- 1. Taking back what has been found in the analysis:**
Stories: why tell stories?
Issues relating to work placements vs. further education classroom
- 2. Comparing classrooms:**
School age vs. adult education: classrooms and relationships
The past vs. the present: primary classroom.

Thank you for your contribution.

Combined interview framework:

Amy and Toby

Appendix 3.9.3 List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full Version
BAAL	British Association of Applied Linguists
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CA	Conversation Analysis
CACHE	Council for Awards in Care, Health and Education
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CP	Class Participant
D	Distinction
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DIUS	Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EC	Ethnography of Communication
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EMA	Educational Maintenance Allowance
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FCA	Face Threatening Act
FE	Further Education
FEFC	Further Education Funding Council
FEP	Fellow Educational Practitioner
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HE	Higher Education
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IRF/E	Initiation, Response, Feedback/ Extension
IS	Interactional Sociolinguistics
IT	Information Technology
KAL	Knowledge About Language
LA	Linguistic Anthropology
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
LO	Learning Objective
LSC	Learning and Skills Council

M	Merit
MCA	Membership Categorisation Analysis
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters / Union of Women Teachers
NC	National Curriculum
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NCS	National Curriculum Strategy
NIACE	National Organisation for Adult Learning
NLC	Nation Literacy Strategy
NQF	National Qualification Framework
NTO	National Training Organisation
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OCN	Open College Network
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
P	Pass
PE	Physical Education
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate of Education
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
QA	Question and Answer
SD	Secure Digital
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic, Time-bound
St-St	Student - Student interaction
TA	Teaching Assistant
TEC	Training Enterprise Council
T-St	Tutor - Student interaction
TUC	Trade Union Congress
VAK	Visual, Auditory and Kinaesthetic
VLE	Virtual Learning Environment
WILT	What I Learnt Today
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

**APPENDIX 4: ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS REFERRED TO IN
CHAPTER 7**

APPENDIX 4.1: Additional Extracts from 27 Jan 2009

APPENDIX 4.2: Additional Extracts from 24 Feb 2009

APPENDIX 4.3: Additional Extracts from 20 October 2009

Appendix 4.1, 27 January 2009

Event: In a plenary session at the end of the morning, Tess talks the class through the planning cycle: ‘Plan, do, review’

T: so (.) very quickly I want to just go through this last concept with you (.) this is called the planning cycle (.) this is a sort of a way of thinking about planning which is now very current in education (.) some of you may have even come across it in business under the plan do review model (.) have you all come across it before (.) just a few (.) right (..) when we are planning for education what happens we plan (.) then we prepare so you've thought about it then you go and get your resources you talk to the teacher you talk to the teacher you've thought about what you're gonna need you've thought about how you're going to adapt those resources for certain individuals you've thought how appropriate the worksheets are for the children and all that kind of thing so you prepare it all on the basis of what you've been thinking about then you go ahead and do it sometimes they call this the implementation stage you implement the activity but you do it basically so that's the doing bit you've done the activity and you remember I gave you that handout last week and on the back I talked about the reflective diary (.) you're thinking on paper and this is training you to think about this part of the planning cycle because you are reflecting on what happened you are thinking about what went well what didn't go well what could I have done better what should I do again

[...]

T: that whole reflecting part will then feed back into your planning because the next time you plan you'll be planning on the basis of your reflections

[...]

T: when I'm no longer teaching you and you're doing other stuff and maybe you went on a um in-service day at school and someone came up with this new educational theory which is just revolutionary and it completely revolutionizes your thinking about some aspect of your planning so (.) you need to be a flexible learner and frankly when you go into education you should stick a big learner sign on your back and don't ever take it off again because a good educationalist is a learner they're a constant learner they are someone who constantly thinking about what they're doing and evolving it they are constantly thinking about how can I do this better how can I improve this what new ideas are out there what's you know and that's don't overload yourself because otherwise you're you have to be careful you can only take on only certain new ideas at any one time but you can look at new ideas (.) consider them (.) appraise them if you like (.) work out whether they're of value to what you want to do and then maybe take them on board as part of your planning process so this plan do review model.

Appendix 4.2, 24 February 2009

Event: Teachers TV programme on reading, to help teaching assistants, given by an expert on dyslexia. Before the programme, the tutor talks about the role of the TA in supporting someone with Dyslexia. Afterwards, there is a plenary session where the class participants talked around the programme.

T: Right. What did you learn?

CP: How to deal with dyslexics ((laughter))

T: So I mean how many of you were familiar with dyslexia already?

CP: My son has dyslexia.

T: So you already have some background on this? You had some background. Did this relate to what your knowledge (..)

CP: ((talks very softly, inaudible until)) and then he came to college. He says "I can't read this (.)" ((In an exaggerated bolshy voice))

T: Yes, because the trouble is once they've lost (.) a significant amount of their confidence (.) it's very hard to make them feel motivated enough to go for it. So you need to intervene as quickly as possible and as early as possible you know (.) and (.) be persistent (.) you know (.) once that boy started reading that book it made a massive difference to him.

CP: I said to him, if you can't read, why have you passed your writing test' ((laughter))

T: ((laughs)) He can read when he wants to

CP: Yeah yeah (..) he's just (.)

T: Exactly. You know and that's again.. children with disabilities (..) they're still children (.) you know some of them are going to be very motivated and they'll push through and they'll find strategies and they'll manage in spite of (..) other children have the personality 'if it's hard, forget it' (.) what else can I do?

The class have been talking about supporting children with dyslexia and special education needs in general. They start discussing difficulties they have had in their work placement in trying to support individual learners, with limited time, worrying about the learners missing out on other material, etc.

T: Smaller chunks absolutely. Break it down into small amounts that they can manage. Why does a piece of writing have to be finished in one 20 minute slot? Why can't they do 10 minutes of writing in the morning and 10 minutes of writing just after lunch? You know if that suits them better, those are very simple steps to take but it'll make all the difference between a child believing in themselves as a writer and achieving something in writing and a child getting completely turned off writing because writing has become such a stressful experience for them um (.) now again this might require some negotiation with the teacher but if you as a teaching assistant are paid for by special needs money and you're their key worker it might be your job to say to the teacher "A is really really struggling with writing lessons cos they go on so long. Would it be alright for me to support him through the first 10 minutes, take him off and do something you know some other work on the computer that's still consolidating, so say you've been doing phonics work for 10 minutes, then go and do a phonics programme on the computer, 'cos it's a different kind of activity, the chance are the child will be able to

Appendix 4.3, 13 October 2009

Event: The tutor is discussing with the class what they can choose for assignment 2, in terms of a policy and a law.

T: However, you don't HAVE to choose Health and Safety and SEN for instance. [Name of student] has done Health and Safety law and then she's done the Behaviour Policy for her policy. (.) That is a really simple way of doing it and I would, you know, for someone like you who does behaviour all the time, you might find that a better place to work (.). The reason I'm teaching this is you need to know it so this is part of the curriculum (..) the way I'm teaching it means that you've thought about your roles of teaching assistant so that if you wanted to write this up you could, but you don't have to (.) you can choose one that suits you best.

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T: ((laughs)) He can read when he wants to

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doing phonics work for 10 minutes, then go and do a phonics programme on the computer, 'cos it's a different kind of activity, the chance are the child will be able to focus then come back to the writing later on. It might mean he misses out on something that the others are busy doing but (.) you know if you negotiate with the teacher then you can do something that it doesn't matter so much if they miss out on it but you might actually find that child is given better learning opportunity that way..

[...]

T: It's a balancing act because the truth is, you know you're always going to lose out if you are having to do extra work with the child at another time so what you have to decide is what is the most important thing for a child at any one time now (.) I would probably have done as a teacher what appears to have been done is I'd have got my teaching assistant if I was lucky enough to have one to sit down with them otherwise I'd have had to make sure the other groups were going and I would sit down with that group and just get them started and we would do as much as we could. Education is always about compromise

[...]

T: Yes, Bismark had a saying , he's a chap from Germany, a politician, and he said “ Politics is in the art of doing the possible” (.) and as teachers, that's pretty much what we have to do. We have only a limited amount of time, we have so many children, we have a limited amount of resources, so as a teacher what you do is you plan as effectively as you can to squeeze the most potential learning out of the situation.

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